

# The Literary Digest

A COMPENDIUM OF THE CONTEMPORANEOUS THOUGHT OF THE WORLD.

VOL. II. No. 20.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 14, 1891.

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
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## The Reviews.

### POLITICAL.

#### THE STRUGGLE IN CANADA.

ERASTUS WIMAN.

*North American Review, New York, March.*

SIR JOHN MACDONALD, the prototype in North America of Disraeli, is, next to Mr. Blaine and Mr. Cleveland, the most marked political figure on the continent. He has more power over a wider area than the President of the United States, and rules more absolutely than the Chancellor of the German Empire or the Premier of Great Britain. The fact that he is the embodiment of political astuteness and represents, in a special and peculiar sense, the wishes of imperial Great Britain regarding the wide expanse of British possessions in North America, makes him, to the people of the United States, an intensely important personage.

The efforts of Sir John and of the great Tory party that he alone controls, have for years been directed towards lessening the intercourse between the people that hold this continent in common. What God has joined together Sir John and his party have been trying to put asunder. Two nations, speaking one language, occupying contiguous territory along a borderline of unparalleled length and deeply imbedded in each other's

domain, naturally desire to trade with each other. But the policy of Sir John has been just the opposite to this desire. He has labored to prevent a close connection of his people with the greatest money-making, money-spending aggregation of humanity that the world has ever seen.

His effort has been to set up, in an area comprising 40 per cent. of the British Empire, a fiscal system that should make it a country by itself, and create a great nationality, independent, isolated and self-contained. Up to this time the effort has been courageous and astute; and were it not a war upon geography, a battle against nature, it might in the end succeed. But the forces arrayed against dividing this continent commercially in twain have been too numerous and too strong to permit success to the attempt. The desire of the people of Canada to trade with the United States, and the equal desire of the people of the United States for enlarged markets and future supplies of raw material, have started a commercial movement which all the political forces in the world cannot defeat. This movement has taken the form of Unrestricted Reciprocity, and has assumed such proportions as to justify the remark of Goldwin Smith, that "its spread among the people has been like the light of the morning pervading the universe." Sir John, in a recent passionate manifesto, has been good enough to attribute the origin of this movement and its advocacy to him who pens these lines, an honor which is most highly prized.

The growth of the desire for reciprocal relations, developing only four years ago into definite movement, has found its outcome in the terror which has struck the Tory party. This terror finds expression in the dissolution of the Canadian Parliament a year in advance of its legal expiration. Parliament is dissolved, not from any great public cause, such as impending war, financial disaster, or other threatened casualty, but simply and solely to prevent another year of educational effort, which would surely cut off any claim of the Tory party to continuance in power. This unwarranted dissolution shows the greatness of Sir John's power. The Governor-General of Canada, who represents the Crown, is as putty in the hands of the astute manipulator who rules over these broad areas.

Dissolution at this juncture is in direct violation of the equities of the situation. The census is just due, and a reapportionment is in order. The official lists of voters, under direct pledge that no dissolution would occur, were not revised last year; the consequence of which is that 100,000 young men are disfranchised. The lists being revised only up to 1889, a young man under twenty-three cannot vote, because of the absence of his name from the list. Sir John dreads the judgment and independence of these thinking and self-reliant young men. The policy which drives the young men from the country—for the old men are not able to go—and which with one stroke of the pen disfranchises a large proportion of those who remain, is in keeping with the trick which, in midwinter and on thirty days' notice, precipitates a conflict to decide a question of the most momentous importance as to the policy of half a continent for half a century to come.

The two parties in Canada have at length been so placed as to make the question of relations between the United States and Canada the single point of issue. A general policy of commercial hostility pervades the politics of the Tories. Loyalty to the British Crown, and mock sentimentality as to treason and rebellion, are somehow mixed up with this apparent desire to get the better of the American people. In these days he is dubbed a traitor who wants to trade with his cousins across the border. Sir John Macdonald lashes himself into a passion of patriotic fervor by attributing to those who thus seek to trade freely, designs upon the independence of Canada

and a desire to rob the British Crown of its most precious jewel. How very fragile must be the character of the loyalty that could be thus seduced by trade and traffic!

There is a general idea in the United States that the final destiny of Canada may be assimilation into the Union. But this vague conception can hardly, in this generation, assume the shape of practical politics. There is no desire to capture Canada by military prowess, purchase her with money, or shape her destiny by any legislation, except that which tends solely to promote commerce.

The Liberal party of Canada approach the electors with the single-plank platform of Unrestricted Reciprocity with the United States. The advantages flowing to Canada from such a freedom of commerce are simply enormous. The consequences that will flow from cheapened supplies of American manufactures, and an open market in the United States, are almost beyond conception. This is the prospect which the Liberals offer.

Of course, at this writing, no one can tell the result of the impending election. Should the Tory party succeed, it can only be for a brief period, for the seeds of disintegration are already sown. A few years of object-lessons, like the McKinley Bill on one side and the Foster Tariff on the other, will have their legitimate outcome. The forces at work towards a better relation are irresistible; and if the Liberals are defeated at this time, the next election, which is likely to be very early in the history of the country, will tell a different tale. The fulfilment of manifest destiny may be for a moment deferred, but cannot be defeated.

#### THE CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION.\*

THE HON. GROVER CLEVELAND.

*Belford's Magazine, New York, March.*

I SUPPOSE I have a correct understanding of what is meant by "The Campaign of Education." Assuming this to be so, I desire to acknowledge the valiant services in this campaign of the organization whose invitation brings us together to-night. I do this as a citizen interested in all that promises increased prosperity to the country, and as a Democrat who recognizes in the principle for which the campaign has thus far proceeded, a cardinal and vital doctrine of Democratic creed. If I thus acknowledge the useful services in a Democratic cause of any not affiliated with my party, I feel that my Democratic allegiance is strong enough to survive such an indulgence in fairness and decency.

I am at all times willing that the Democratic party should be enlarged, and willing to accept and acknowledge in good faith honest help from any quarter, when a struggle is pending for the supremacy of Democratic principles. I have an idea that in the Campaign of Education, it was important to appeal to the reason and judgment of the American people, to the end that the Democratic party should be reinforced, as well as that the activity of those already in our ranks should be stimulated. If this be treason in the sight of those who, clothed in Democratic uniform, would drive back recruits, I cannot help it. I rejoice in the accessions we have received, and wish to give credit wherever it is due for the work of conversion.

The grand and ultimate objects of the Campaign of Education were the promotion of the welfare of the country, and the relief of the people from unjust burdens. To attain this purpose it became primarily necessary to arouse the Democratic organization to the fact that the campaign involved a Democratic principle, in behalf of which the party should be active and aggressive.

Let it be confessed that we, as a party, had, in these latter days, been tempted by the successful example of our opponents in the use of temporary shifts and appeals to prejudice, into paths which avoided honest insistence upon definite and clearly-defined principle and fundamental Democratic doctrine.

\* Speech before the Reform Club, New York, December 23, 1890.

Some earnest men in the party deprecated this desertion of cardinal principles; but the timid, the heedless, and those who, while nominally belonging to the organization, were not of the faith, constantly nullified all attempts to restore the party to the solid ground of Democratic creed.

But when the time came in which the cries of a suffering people were loud, and when for their relief a genuine Democratic remedy was proposed, the party easily recognized its duty, and gave proof of its unconquerable Democratic instincts. The Campaign of Education once inaugurated, the party was quickly marshalled as of the olden time, aggressive, courageous, devoted to its cause, and heedless of discouragement or defeat. Expediency and time-serving were thrown to the winds. Traitors were silenced, camp-followers fell away or joined the scurvy band of floaters, while the sturdy Democratic host confidently pressed on, bearing aloft the banner of Tariff Reform. In the light of the last three years, it is seen how gloriously the party springs to the front at the call of its duty to the people and in obedience to the summons of party loyalty and obligation.

Thus, the education of the campaign meant, as related to the Democracy, its awakening in response to the signal for its return to the propagandism of Democratic doctrine.

No obstacle was too formidable for the attack of the aroused enthusiasm and determination of the party, and its allied thousands drawn from the non-partisan intelligence and honesty of the land. They were even audaciously willing to attempt to educate those high in the councils of the Republican party, and those who formulated that party's policy, so far as such a thing existed.

Even in this unpromising field we are able to report progress. No one who remembers the hilarity with which the leaders of the Republican party greeted the message of Tariff Reform, and the confidence with which they prepared to meet and crush the issue presented, can fail to see how useful a lesson has been taught them in our Campaign of Education.

A Senator from Nebraska, the junior Senator from New York, a Senator from Maine, now diligently searching for the meaning of the word "reciprocity," a New Hampshire Senator, a Senator from Wisconsin, the present Speaker of the House, the Representative from Ohio, whose name is associated with a Bill which has given his party considerable trouble of late—all of whom, within twenty-four hours after the submission to Congress of the question of Tariff Reform, were reported to have jauntily ventilated their partisan exultation in the public press—have each received home lessons which cannot fail to be specially instructive.

As our campaign has proceeded, other unusual symptoms have become apparent among the opposition—insubordination, discontent, actual disobedience of party orders. Some have left the ship. One shrewd and weather-wise navigator has clambered off, and, in a frail bark, bearing the legend "Reciprocity" on its stern, was last seen hovering near, prepared to climb aboard again or sail away, as wind and wave would appear to render most safe.

Of course we do not overlook the fact that in their first battle with us the enemy gained a victory over Tariff Reform. We thoroughly understand by what methods it was gained, and if the beneficiaries are satisfied with the condition they have wrought, we also are not without compensation.

The most gratifying feature of the Campaign of Education, is the manner in which it has gained access to the plain people of the land. We have relied for the success of our cause upon the intelligence and thoughtfulness of the people; have solicited thorough examination of its merits, laying before the people plain, honest expositions of the justice and beneficence of our principle. This has been done by the systematic and industrious distribution of tariff reform literature, by the effective and conscientious arguments of a well-informed and unsubsidized press, and by an extensive discussion on the platform of the questions involved.



These are the weapons we have used in our Campaign of Education. It is a cause of congratulation that our work has been done in a manner so decent, and, in its best sense, so thoroughly American. Our victory is the victory of the intelligence, integrity, and patriotism of our fellow-countrymen.

#### THE FALL OF SIGNOR CRISPI AND THE NEW ITALIAN CABINET.

G. GIACOMETTI.

*Revue Bleue, Paris, February 21.*

**A**FTER holding office for four years, the Crispi Cabinet, or, to speak more correctly, Signor Crispi—who absorbed what might euphemistically be termed his Cabinet—appeared before Italy at the last election in that country, with a negative balance-sheet; for he had failed in everything, in finance, in foreign and domestic policy, and in political morality. Moreover, the parliamentary majority which Signor Crispi seemed to possess was compact in appearance only, for it was the product of a merely temporary reconciliation of the Conservatives and the Liberals, that is, of the two opposing parties who occupy respectively the Right side and the Left in the Italian Chamber. Signor Crispi's fall, therefore, was inevitable; and, despite his great qualities, it is regarded throughout Italy as a deliverance.

The formation of a new Italian Cabinet was, nevertheless, a difficult task. According to constitutional practice, the successors of a ministry should be chosen from the political party by which that ministry is overthrown; but Signor Crispi's defeat was due to the action of the Right as well as of the Left, and both these parties together do not include more than one-fifth of the representatives of the Italian nation, for the great majority of those representatives are neutral—not to say selfish—politicians, who form the so-called "Centre" of the Chamber. Over that Centre, however, the moderate opinions of the Right have long exercised a fascinating influence. The Crown, too, in Italy, as elsewhere, is naturally in sympathy with Conservatives. The Italian monarch, therefore, in choosing his new cabinet, has combined the Right, as represented by the Marquis di Rudini, with the "historic" (as distinguished from the "extreme") Left in the person of Baron Nicotera.

The Marquis di Rudini is a man of incontestable worth. He is a warm, rather than an eloquent, speaker. He was Minister of the Interior in 1869; he has also filled with credit the office of Prefect of Naples; and, as Mayor of Palermo, he courageously faced and suppressed a sedition. His presence, both in the cabinet and in parliament, will be felt.

Baron Nicotera, who enters the new Cabinet as Minister of the Interior, has long been a celebrated patriot. In 1857 the Bourbonistic government of Naples sent him to the galleys for participating in a glorious, though unsuccessful, political enterprise. In 1876 a Liberal government—the first which ever reigned in Italy—appointed him to his present high office, and he discharged its duties with great ability; but in December 1877 he was removed from it for dealing unscrupulously with private telegraphic correspondence, and was then succeeded by Signor Crispi. He may, therefore, be described as by turns an ally and an opponent, and as both the immediate predecessor and the immediate successor, of Signor Crispi. Signor Nicotera is well placed; for in his present position he will be able to reform the electoral system in Italy and to control a new election, which will probably take place if the present Chamber prove unable to furnish a durable parliamentary majority.

In addition to the Marquis di Rudini and Baron Nicotera, the new cabinet includes Signors Luzzati, Branca and Chimirri, General Pelloux, Signors Morin, Cremona, Colombo, Villari, Luigi Ferraris, and the Conte d' Arco.

Signor Luzzati has been appropriately posted at the Treasury, for he is well versed in political economy and especially in

finance; but he believes in the policy of alliances, and he will find it difficult to reconcile that belief with his scientific principles, for Triple Alliance and military economy are two phrases that exclude each other.

Signor Branca, who is in charge of the Finances, has shown on more than one occasion that he considers it ruinous for Italy to embroil herself with France for the benefit of Germany.

Signor Chimirri presides over Agriculture and Commerce. He is a Reactionary Conservative, but will be forced to conform to Liberal ideas by the political necessities of the present time.

General Pelloux, an undisguised friend of France, has taken charge of the War Office, on the understanding that the budget of his department will be reduced—a condition which, when it emanates from a military man, is an unmistakable signal of peace.

Signors Morin, whose department is the Marine, Cremona, who presides over Public Instruction, and Colombo, who is in charge of Public Works, are politicians with moderate views, that is, members of the Centre, who have no marked political leanings. Consequently, their participation in the new ministry does not affect its character.

Signor Villari, at the head of the Postal and Telegraph Departments, and Signor Luigi Ferraris, who holds the portfolio of Justice, are two Senators who were once Liberal, but now belong to the party of the Right.

The Conte d'Arco, who is associated with the Marquis di Rudini as an Under Secretary of State, is a member of the Extreme Left, which may be characterized as a party *in posse* because, at present, it is only a group of a few brilliant men who employ themselves in exposing the political evils of the time.

Such is the composition of the Cabinet which has succeeded Signor Crispi. That it will live is doubtful, for in addition to Signor Crispi, who may not be contented to play the part of a passive opponent, it has more than one possible enemy in the Chamber; but its claims to longevity rest on the fact that it is disposed to be pacific and economical and thus to answer the two great needs of the day.

As regards the new Cabinet's foreign policy in particular it may be added, that the Italian mind has begun to see clearly, that the strength derived from foreign alliances is by no means a sufficient compensation for the expense they entail, and, consequently, that the Germanic allies of Italy are not likely in future to find in her a contributor to the cost of their armaments.

#### ALASKA AND THE BERING SEA FISHERY.

F. CARDON.

*Nuova Antologia, Rome, February.*

**I**T is not without interest, just now, to glance at the distant Arctic province, of which the shores are partly bathed by that Bering Sea, which, by reason of its fishery, has become an addition to the stock of international troubles.

On the ground of its possession of Alaska, the United States believe they have special rights in Bering Sea; and, in fact, the special conditions of life and of the products of these regions give to the American pretext an appearance of justice.

With the death of the traveller Bering, whose name has been given to the strait which separates Siberia from Alaska, the life of the latter begins. Bering died early in 1742 on the island which bears his name, near Kamchatka, on his return from the adventurous voyage, during which he discovered the land which terminates the American continent on the north-west.

Bering's companions returned to Siberia with information about their important discovery, and with a considerable freight of precious skins, of, among others, sea-otters and blue foxes, the hunting of which was becoming every year less fruitful in Kamchatka. That news was quite sufficient to make all the enterprising traders move towards Alaska, which soon became

the headquarters of all the Russian or Siberian merchants who could control some capital and a vessel.

The history of the first year of the Russian invasion of Alaska does not differ from the history of any other colonization. While the country and the stability of the riches of Alaska, from a commercial point of view, were becoming known, there was a period of anarchy, which ended in 1749, when Paul the Great granted the Russo-American Company a monopoly of hunting fur-bearing animals in Alaska, in Kamchatka and in other northern regions of Siberia.

Then ensued a time of great prosperity for the trade of Russian America. Its first governor, Baranoff, an eminently practical and enterprising man, conducted the operations of the Company in such a way that its gains were enormous. It was given authority over all the coast of Alaska, it built dockyards where it constructed its own vessels, using for that purpose the rich forests of the country; it maintained a military force and a navy at its own expense, and its governor displayed at the castle of Sitka a viceregal luxury.

But this prosperity was ephemeral. From 1818 the gains of the Company began to diminish until, in 1864, when the Company sought a renewal of its charter, it asked the Russian government to assume the expenses of the administration of affairs in Alaska. The Russian government refused to renew the charter on such terms and sent a Commissary to take possession of Alaska and see how its situation could be improved. He had made but little progress in the task assigned him, when the United States relieved him of further trouble by buying Alaska, in 1867, for \$7,200,000.

The Rocky Mountains, in running to the north-west, descend below the level of the sea, from which rise a number of peaks, making islands. In this way has been formed the beautiful and long curve of the Aleutian Islands, which separate Bering Sea from the Pacific Ocean, and stretching forward to the peninsula of Kamchatka, make a *quasi mare clausum* of Bering Sea. This is the most northerly example of a submarine mountainous conformation, which occurs several times on the eastern coast of the Asiatic continent, where the Kurile Islands enclose the Sea of Okhotsk, the Islands of Japan, the Sea of the same name, and the Islands of Formosa and Lin-Chin, the Korean Sea.

The Aleutian Islands are the home of the seals, whose skins are so much valued. There only, in the world, are found the sea-otters, so much sought after. The hunting of these animals is difficult and dangerous, and the hunters are Aleutian natives. The Pribilof Islands, that is the Islands of Saint Paul and Saint George, about three hundred miles from the coast of Alaska, are the favorite breeding-place of the seals, who go thither every year in large numbers, the males beginning to arrive from the first to the fifth of May, and the females towards the twelfth of June. Those islands are, of course, the most important, as regards the preservation and abundant increase of the species. The Company which rented the Pribilof Islands from the United States, are, by the terms of their lease, prohibited from killing more than 100,000 seals a year. And they are not allowed, for two or three years, to kill any seals except during the months of June and July. Notwithstanding these precautions, the number of seals has gone on continually diminishing, until the reports of 1889 showed that by the 21st of July, of that year, that is to say ten days before the close of the season, the Company had been able to get but 21,000 skins.

The United States Government maintains that this diminution is caused by the fact, that free hunters go all through Bering Sea and kill without distinction all the females and old and young males they can find. There can be no doubt that seal-hunting, pursued in this fashion, tends to exterminate these interesting amphibia. Undertaking, then, to protect the wealth of this marine fauna, the United States is perhaps in the right, when it pretends to exercise special police power over Bering

Sea, which power of course will strengthen its alleged right to exclude other natives from that sea.

Acting upon these principles two English vessels, the *Black Diamona* and the *Triumph* were seized by the United States in Bering Sea, in July, 1889. The American Government claims that Bering Sea is a *mare clausum* and to strengthen their claim, recalls that in former geological epochs, the chain of the Aleutian Islands, formed a continuous peninsula or, perhaps united with Kamchatka, an isthmus! Reinforced thus by their geological theory, they do not find it difficult to come to a practical conclusion favorable to the monopoly of the Company which has leased the Pribilof Islands.

The most curious part of the business is that, when in 1821, Russia, then in possession of Alaska and the Aleutian Islands, claimed that Bering Sea was a *mare clausum*, the United States controverted the position of the Russian Government with such force, that the latter gave up the point and admitted that Bering Sea was not a *mare clausum*. Of course the United States cannot have acquired by their purchase, any greater rights than the Russians had.

#### AGAINST REFORMED UPPER HOUSES.

HON. SIR CHARLES W. DILKE, BT.

*Subjects of the Day, London, February.*

FROM the point of view, either of the Liberal party-man, or of the Radical reformer, it is obvious that the House of Lords is, as at present constituted, an institution of doubtful utility. Ever since the Reform Act of 1832, the House of Lords have, when Liberal Governments have been in power—rejected or mangled, year by year, measures which had passed the House of Commons; and the difficulty of carrying Bills through the House of Lords has caused many other Bills to be introduced in an emasculated form. In the Irish question, for example, it is possible for those who take the Radical view, to trace to the action of the House of Lords almost every wound that has injured the relations of the two peoples. The House of Lords resisted, first, Roman Catholic Relief, and then Roman Catholic Emancipation, although Emancipation, if granted in time, would, it is now generally recognized, have averted much of the painful friction from which both countries have since suffered.

If we turn to legislation not especially concerning Ireland, we find that, through the whole time of our fathers, the Lords constantly refused to open the Universities to Non-conformists. They seven times rejected the Emancipation of the Jews. By amendments to the new Poor Law, they forbade Non-conformist ministers to officiate in workhouses. By mangling the Liberal scheme of municipal reform, they not only spoiled the working of the corporations throughout the country, but left us the whole drink question as an evil legacy. The House of Lords have always contended that they were more friendly to the workman than were, or are, the capitalists of the Lower House. Yet it is the case that, in 1842, it was the House of Lords which refused full protection to the mining population. They spoiled the Irish Land Act of 1870, when its passage would have saved Ireland. They rejected the Ballot Bill in 1871, and the abolition of purchase in the Army, and when compelled to pass the Ballot Act in 1872, they spoiled it by useless provisions. In 1881 the House of Lords spoiled the Land Act, as they had spoiled the Land Act of 1870. But, looking over the distant past, we notice that their action in rejection is really less damaging to Liberal progress, than is the effect of their existence in emasculating measures in advance.

So much for the grievance. Now for consideration of the remedy. Let me begin by admitting to the full, the admirable services to the country rendered by some men who are members of the House of Lords. Among the life peers, in the shape of bishops and of lawyers, there are many great orators and dis-



tinguished men, and among the more numerous hereditary body, statesmen are plentiful, but the abolition or reform of the House of Lords, would not promote a catastrophe by which the earth would swallow up these eminent men; on the contrary, the constitution of the House of Lords has the tendency to merge some of its most eminent members into comparative insignificance, from which their popularity, their talents and their experience would save them, were they members of the House of Commons. The only men of talent who are not the worse for sitting in the House of Lords, are eminent lawyers (of extremely diverse types), like Lord Selbourn, Lord Herschell, or Lord Esher—a handful out of the many distinguished persons that the House of Lords contains.

What, then, should be the nature of the remedy? Should we try, by a system of election among peers, to keep the good men in the House of Lords who are there already, and to add to them other good men by means of life peerages or some elective system; or should we, if we could, venture upon bringing the leading peers into the House of Commons, and doing without a second chamber?

There have been many schemes for what is called the reform of the House of Lords. It is easy to strengthen the Upper House. It is easy to devise means for increasing the number of nominal Liberals in an Upper House. It would be almost impossible to create an Upper House in the United Kingdom, or in England, taken by itself, which would not be a House of Churchmen, specially set against many changes desired by Non-conformists, and from time to time accepted by a majority in the country. It would be difficult to constitute in this country an Upper House which would not be unduly tender to the landed interest. It would be impossible to constitute an Upper House that would not have plutocratic instincts, leading it, upon taxation questions, into conflict with the Lower House, as that body becomes more democratic. I fail, therefore, to see that any plan for what is called reforming the House of Lords, would be likely to change the essential character of that assembly, or to greatly lessen the chances of rejecting popular measures, or coming into conflict with the Lower House.

It may be said that all great countries, and all our colonies, have Upper Houses. But Upper Houses are not universally popular in countries in which they exist, and I cannot admit that other countries, except federal countries, are wise in having Upper Houses. On the other hand, it would be idle to suppose that in a short time it would be possible to convince the vast majority of the cultivated classes that they are wrong upon this question, and that countries could exist, strong, free, prosperous and contented, without an Upper House. It is, then, practically a question of measures for supplanting the hereditary element in the House of Lords by the election of persons who are virtually of the same class, or of leaving matters as they are, and I reply unhesitatingly that we are better as we are. The power of resistance of the House of Lords grows weaker with the growing force of Democracy, and its veto will gradually drop into that disuse which makes the Royal veto, except in Colonial matters, but a name.

One large question lies behind—that of the necessity for restraint upon democracy—the need of a power to overrule the sudden freaks of democratic Lower Houses. To my mind it is useless to pretend that when a great wind or wave of popular feeling spreads over the whole country, and makes a democratic Lower House commit some egregious folly, an Upper House will ever have the courage to resist. The probability is that Upper House, as well as Lower, will share the foolish feeling, but if it does not, and especially if it is one on which the prejudices of its members are not aroused, is it not certain that, if the feeling is only strong enough and foolish enough, the Upper House must yield? If, however, restraints upon an elective house are necessary, would not the best restraint be that of the plebiscitary vote, popular vote or Referendum?

## SOCIOLOGICAL.

### THE SOCIALIST REACTION.

C. A. CRIPPS, Q. C.

*National Review, London, February.*

THE lavish promises of Socialism show a keen instinct for the weaknesses of human nature. There is a stately magnificence in a bribery which offers without stint all the income derived from rent of land or investment of capital, cleverly describing this fund as a tribute from labor to ownership, and implying that there is a duty on those who do not share in it to expropriate without undue delay the present recipients. The poor man is persuaded that he can, by a process of charming simplicity, at once empty the pocket of his neighbor and advance the sacred cause of humanity.

The distinctive and essential element in Socialism, that which differentiates it from various schemes for social reform which have an artificial appearance of similarity, is the extinction, as a class, of all recipients of rent or interest. The process may be hurried or gradual, but the ultimate regeneration of Society, on a Socialist basis, necessarily implies the State administration of rent and interest. The State can never conform to the Socialist ideal, until it owns and controls all the means and sources of production. Discrimination is impossible. The system is at fault; civilization has proceeded on mistaken lines; the Augean stables must be cleansed out.

The distinction between acts of State interference which are often classed as Socialistic and Socialism is of great importance. No one disputes that Socialism is possible only on the most extended application of State interference; but this is very far from supporting the proposition that all forms of State interference imply sympathy with Socialism. So far as it is possible to generalize an exhaustive negative, it may be said that no measure of State interference has hitherto consciously aimed at the extinction of private ownership, the essential element of Socialism.

A Socialist who claims to speak as an economist and with moderation, characterizes modern industrial development as "this grotesquely hideous march of civilization from bad to worse." The same writer, making no reference to facts or statistics, appeals to the credulity of his readers with the bold assertion that civilization is already in an advanced state of rottenness. Where is the evidence of a reasonably trustworthy character to support this reckless pessimism? Can the Socialists maintain that the net aggregate of national wealth has diminished in the last half century? Can they deny that, during the same period, the average money rate of wages has considerably risen, probably to the extent of 40 per cent., whereas the rise in purchasing power has been still higher? How do they explain, on the theory that civilization is traveling from bad to worse, the fact that there has been a decrease of more than 60 per cent. in the ratio of paupers to population? To what do they attribute the decided improvement in criminal statistics? Do they say that Trades Unionism and Co-operation have operated only to hasten civilization on the road to ruin? Let us hear what Professor Marshall says on the subject in his impartial and exhaustive treatise:

The diffusion of knowledge, the improvement of education, the growth of prudent habits among the masses of the people, and the opportunities which the new methods of business offer for the safe investment of small capitals—all these forces are telling on the side of the poorer classes as a whole relatively to the richer. The returns of the income-tax and the house-tax, the statistics of the consumption of commodities, the records of the salaries paid to the higher and to the lower of servants of Government and public companies, tend in the same direction, and indicate that middle-class incomes are increasing faster than those of the rich; that the earnings of artisans are increasing faster than those of the professional classes, and that the wages of healthy and vigorous laborers are increasing faster even than those of the average artisan.

Though the indictment framed by Socialists against the whole fabric of modern society should be admitted, this would not go far in support of Socialism. It must be proved, in addition, that the miseries of the poor are attributable to private ownership of land and capital, and that Socialism would alleviate these miseries. It is conceded that great inequalities in social conditions are not desirable; but the prosperity of the rich and the well-to-do has, on the whole, powerfully operated in the direction of equality, and done much to bring within the reach of the poor the possibility of a higher standard of life. It appears to be forgotten that the very rich are a comparatively insignificant number, and that the rich, well-to-do and poor classes insensibly merge into each other. The national fund for subsistence has never been larger in the aggregate, and there are manifest signs that, in the distribution of this fund, the share of the workman will be further increased. The problem of the "submerged tenth" still remains. No question has received more careful or anxious consideration, and the first step is to reduce the number within manageable dimensions. When this has been done, the State might if necessary, support the residue in return for compulsory labor, without seeking to place a similar yoke on the remaining 90 or 95 per cent.

It is a fact for the Socialists to grapple with, that the more complete recognition of private ownership in land has been coincident with the growth of industrial civilization, and that so far from high rents implying low wages, we find wages higher in America and England than elsewhere, and that in these countries they reach a maximum where the highest rents are paid.

#### RUSSIAN FINANCE.

##### THE RACKING OF THE RUSSIAN PEASANTRY.

E. B. LANIN.

*Fortnightly Review, London, February.*

SINCE the halcyon days of Controller Calonne, the miraculous transformer of bland smiles and promises into ready money, that, like Cinderella's finery, had a nasty way of reverting, after a brief period, to its original forms, no country would seem to have made such marvellous progress in so short a time as Russia under the guidance of her present minister of Finance, M. Vyshnegradsky. The means by which this accomplished financier raised his country's credit in the eyes of the world were neither few nor simple. He naturally began by cutting down the expenses of the administration as low as was consistent with his own tenure of office; he tapped new sources of revenue; he raised loans; he effected conversions; collected debts that seemed hopeless; and literally "scraped" together every available rouble in the country. Russia is indebted in a great measure to French sympathy for the brilliant financial display she is now making, having raised loans to an aggregate of two thousand eight hundred and two million francs between December 22, 1888 and March, 1890, loans which the French met by an offer of eight times more than was called for, and which are so popular an investment in France, that, although issued at from  $44\frac{3}{4}$  to  $45\frac{1}{4}$ , some of them were quoted at 96 a month after issue, and it is not impossible that they may yet reach par. Russian stock now stands 2 per cent. higher than Austrian, and about 12 per cent. above Hungarian.

Again, if we glance hastily at the rapid development of manufactures in the Empire, we are lost in astonishment at the seemingly miraculous results effected by Protection. In every department the output has increased enormously, and Russia can now significantly point to a class of merchant princes created by Protection.

But these considerations can scarcely be said to exhaust the question of Russian finance. There are other important points of view from which the economic position of a country may and should be studied, besides that of the reputation of a financier, or the enrichment of a handful of manufacturers many of

whom are foreigners. The chief point, in the present case, is the state of agriculture which, in Russia bears the same relation to all those outward appearances of prosperity which a clever minister can conjure up at a pinch, that a noumenon is supposed to bear to phenomena or gold to the paper currency based on it. And as regards M. Vyshnegradsky's financial expedients, there has been no real conversion, in the sense of an alleviation of the relations of a debtor to his creditor. Russia, instead of converting a 5 per cent. loan into a 4 per cent. one, has taken a very decided plunge in the opposite direction. She continues to pay practically 5 per cent. (mathematically 4.7) but on a much larger capital sum than before, and has bound herself to do so for a much longer time. The curious operations by which M. Vyshnegradsky has effected his conversions inflict an enormous dead loss upon the country, the "gain" consists in shifting a portion of the burden from the present to the future.

But whoever else gains by the high tariff, the tiller of the soil stands to lose, and the extent of his loss is incalculable. All the agricultural societies of the Empire have announced their conviction that agriculture in Russia is at its last gasp. The soil in Russia is tilled by two classes of agriculturists, the nobles and the peasants, both of whom are hopelessly ruined. The peasants are worse off than the nobles who can generally manage to lead a parasitic life when hopelessly involved; but the necessity of paying heavy taxes, made painfully clear by the unsparing application of the rod and the lash, compels the peasant to mobilise his finances as quickly as may be, and if he have none, to borrow at a high rate of interest. By this is not meant 8 or 10 or even 12 per cent. In some districts of the government of Koorsk, it has become a regular custom for whole communities to borrow money for the payment of taxes at 60 per cent. interest. Even this is rather exceptional. 100 per cent. is the usual rate of interest; it often, however, amounts to 300 per cent. These exorbitant rates of interest are rendered doubly ruinous by the dishonesty of the usurer and the ignorance of the borrower. A peasant borrows say \$50, signs a receipt for \$250, pays the monthly interest regularly, and after having paid \$250 or \$300, finds that he still owes more than before. One of the curious trades that has sprung into existence, owing to these economic conditions, is currently called the "soul trade." "In numerous districts," we are informed by the most serious of all Russian organs "a new right of possessing serfs has come to be established. The slave-owners are now the owners of public houses, usurers who ruin the people with relentless logic." When the borrower's property is insufficient to wipe out the debt, he must make good the deficiency by labor. This "soul trade" is no longer exceptional, and threatens to become universal.

It would be difficult to determine what part of Russia suffers most from want of seed-corn, of money, of food; from cold, hunger and disease. Those who have sold themselves to the usurers may at least count on being kept alive, but in numerous districts the people eat their live stock and then lie down to die of famine, or wander away in search of work. Mendicity is becoming the profession of hundreds of thousands, possibly of millions. "In many parts of the government of Ryazan," says a Russian official organ (*Messenger of Europe*) the peasants, for want of rye, support life on acorn bread. An official report in reference to the condition of the peasants of the Porkhorsk district says: "In some villages they subsist on bread of which a person unaccustomed to it could not eat a morsel. *It is not so much bread as dry cowdung.*"

And these Russian peasants are punctual tax-payers, the payment of the taxes being the first necessity of existence. Under pressure of the tax-collector, they gradually yield up their flocks and herds, their crops and labor, their homes and home life, and at last, their very life's blood. But the main point to be remembered is, that a Russian finance minister, with a moral courage equal to his ingenuity, has solved a most difficult problem which a Goschen or even a Gladstone would shrink from tackling, the problem of wringing gold from men subsisting on dry cowdung.



## THE TYRANNY OF THE STATE.

SAMUEL WILLIAMS COOPER.

*Popular Science Monthly, New York, March.*

**T**HOUSANDS of bulky volumes do not suffice to contain the common law, the codes, and the countless decisions bearing upon the duties of the individual to society. The taking of human life and the throwing down on the street of a piece of waste paper are alike punishable as crimes. If two or three gather at the corner of a public highway and raise their voices loudly, the State, in the form of a blue-coated officer, orders them off, and if any objection or answer is made, clubs them to the station-house. Thereupon, the State becomes the accuser, witness, and judge, and, without an opportunity to be heard or call witnesses in defense, the offenders are held to await trial. Should any one become disgusted with his duties as a citizen and attempt to end his misery, if caught in time, he may be punished as an abandoned criminal.

Amid this never-ending round of obligations, the nature and limits of the authority that imposes them is a question seldom stated, yet it must be recognized as one of vast importance to mankind. The axiom, that the people do not need to limit their power over themselves, is the quietus for all complaints, and the patients have gradually become stupefied by their own wisdom. There is an ever-increasing inclination on the part of the State to enlarge its rights over the individual—both by careless legislation and indifference to its solemn obligations.

Personal liberty and the rights of property are constantly violated, and the citizen is without redress. On this score, in monarchies, the comfort administered was the doctrine that the king could do no wrong; but recently the United States Supreme Court declared that such doctrine had no place in American jurisprudence. Yet this was mere emptiness; for in other cases before the same tribunal, it has been held as axiomatic that the sovereign power is free from all legal liabilities. It holds that law is a rule of action laid down by a superior; and the State cannot be in subordination to itself, except so far as it may voluntarily part with its sovereignty.

For many years the only redress for wrongs done by the United States was by Act of Congress. Latterly the Court of Claims has been established, but its jurisdiction only covers cases arising on contracts made within six years from the time of bringing suit. For those older than this, and for all the vast array of claims arising otherwise than from money demands, the sole redress is with the legislative body. It would take volumes almost as numerous as those outlining the duties of the individual to the State to recount the tales of robbery and outrage on the part of the Government that appear in the appeals for justice now on record at Washington. Had these same acts been committed by private bodies, the united wrath of the people would have exterminated the offenders.

For goods or lands wrongfully taken by officers of the United States, although absolutely necessary for the support of the sovereign power, there is no liability; and if the claim is on contract, it must be shown to have been made with an officer authorized by statute to enter into that particular agreement. The United States never pays interest on its debts; yet if it has a claim against an insolvent citizen, it demands every dollar, with interest, before any other creditor can be allowed a cent. An action of ejectment for land taken by the Government will not lie. The States are prohibited from passing any laws impairing the obligations of contracts, but the United States still reserves to itself the power of doing such wrongs. Witness the frequent and flagrant breaches of treaty contracts with the Indians. The States may violate at will contracts made with the citizen. The injustice of this is not so much in the wrongs done—for these may be necessary—but in the failure to provide any compensation for the injuries.

For example, the various prohibitory or high-license laws

have ruined the business of the individual and wrecked his life, yet left him no compensation. In Pennsylvania, under the recent license act, property to the value of millions of dollars was destroyed, the future of many good citizens was ruined, and some were driven insane and committed suicide. The ruin that has been thus wrought upon thousands can never be told. The power of the Government may be admitted to be absolute and necessary for control and good order; but, even so, the few should not be made to bear the burdens of the many without compensation. Property taken under police power should be paid for, as is property taken by right of eminent domain.

An innocent man accused of crime by the State has no redress. He may indeed prove his innocence, but the State makes no compensation for mistakes.

No citizen will be allowed to give evidence in a court of justice who does not profess belief in God and a future state. A citizen's safety, rights, and property may thus be made to depend upon his belief.

The rights of citizens are continually violated, without redress, by brutal and ignorant officers who, without authority, make police raids and do irreparable injury to innocent men.

The effect on the community of the ills set forth, and many similar ones which have not been mentioned, is demoralizing, and weakens the stability of the State as a body. The principal question of human affairs must ever be the adjustment of the rights of the individual as against society.

The remedy for many of the troubles is extremely simple. Let the State be the subject of suit, the same as individuals; let twelve men adjust the differences between the one who has suffered for the good of the many and the corporate body that represents the public. The time has gone by for the invoking of ancient doctrines at the expense of the liberty and the justice due to the citizen.

## DRUNKENNESS A CRIME.

HENRY A. HARTT, M.D.

*Arena, Boston, March.*

**A** GENTLEMAN, in the July number of the *Arena*, expresses surprise that I, as a physician, consider drunkenness a crime; and advances the theory that it is uniformly a disease derived from heredity, which he traces back as far as Noah and the Flood.

There can be no doubt that drunkenness becomes a disease in a certain class of cases, and it is recognized by the medical faculty universally under the title of dipsomania. But in all the instances of this malady which have come under my observation, it has invariably been the effect of a long course of dissipation. I have never seen a man who was born with this infirmity, or who has not been able, for many years of his life, to use alcohol or not, as he chose. The disease is always produced by a continuous habit of vicious indulgence for a length of time, and I am convinced that far too much importance is attached to heredity with regard both to this and to other maladies.

It is a significant fact that, throughout the Bible, drunkenness is denounced as a sin which deserves the severest punishment, and that in no case is it referred to as a disease from which the drunkard is suffering.

I am asked to prove that drunkenness is a crime. The inspired Lawgiver of Israel regarded it in this light, and in one class of cases affixed to it the penalty of death.

Drunkenness is a voluntary lunacy, which causes three-fourths of the crimes of violence, and, exclusive of itself, two-thirds of all other crimes and two-thirds of the pauperism under which the people groan. If the doors of all the insane asylums in the land were thrown open, and the whole army of involuntary lunatics were let loose, it is doubtful whether they would produce one-half the devastation and horrors which flow from this

atrocious vice. Can any man of common-sense ask if this is a crime, or question the right and duty of society to punish it, both for its own protection and as a preventative?

My critic seems to imagine that it would be impossible under such a law as I propose to reach a rich offender, because he commits the crime and enjoys the luxury of a drunken stupor and the demoniac visions of delirious tremens in the privacy of his own house. He forgets that the interests of his family, as well as his own interests, would require that he be placed under restraint. Besides the law would now, as well as in all other cases of crime, forbid connivance, and impose an obligation of complaint.

For dipsomania special asylums should be provided, in which due medical care and treatment should be furnished; but imprisonment in them should be compulsory, as in the case of lunatics from other diseases.

The evils in this life arise for the most part from the abuse of that which is good. Drunkenness forms no exception to this rule. Wine and other alcoholic liquors are gifts of a beneficent Providence, which, when properly used are sources of pleasure and profit to mankind. The vast majority of the people throughout the civilized world do use them in this manner; and I can see no reason that, because a man here and there, chooses to form and indulge an unnatural appetite for them, and insanely pervert them to his own destruction and to the injury of the community in which he lives, everybody else shall be kept in a state of continual agitation and excitement, or enter into bonds to renounce them at once and forever. Would it not be much wiser and better to do in this case, just what we do in all others of a similar nature, and punish the culprit who commits the wrong?

The biblical and scientific arguments in favor of alcohol, and by sequence, the liquors which contain it, are, in my opinion conclusive; but however this may be, the simple fact that Christ, at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, did put forth his divine power, and miraculously convert water into wine, the superior excellence of which was affirmed by the governor of the feast, should be enough to silence all disputation among His followers, with regard to the legitimacy of the article and the propriety of its use.

Another writer in the *Arena* asserts that drunkenness has been made a crime in Vermont, but the law has proved ineffectual in actual practice, no public prosecutor having the hardihood to prosecute an offender of good standing. If this statement is not an unmitigated slander, Vermont, with all her high pretensions, is unworthy of association with the sisterhood of this great Republic.

#### THE BOOK OF LIFE.

ARSENE HOUSAYE.

*La Lecture, Paris, February 10.*

THE best books are those that are not written.

He who is not born with a grain of madness in his composition is disinherited by Heaven. He will be neither poetic, nor artistic, nor victorious, nor amorous, nor young.

Dante tried in vain to be terrible; he has not made anybody feel disgusted with Hell, for he has placed in it all those to whom their passions were a paradise.

Woman is perfect in good as in evil; while man, pretending to be a reasonable animal, is nothing but an animal.

Tell me whom you love, and I'll tell you who you are.

The majority of people live poor in order to die rich; it is a great deal wiser to live rich and die poor.

Happiness is the health of the soul; therefore, the soul is always sick.

You have sometimes known happiness, eh? Yes, the happiness of others.

Don't let us speak ill of our enemies; they are the only persons who do not deceive us.

## EDUCATION, LITERATURE, ART.

### SEDGWICK'S LIFE AND LETTERS.

*Quarterly Review, London, January.*

**A**DAM SEDGWICK, who for fifty-two years was Woodwardian Professor of Geology at the University of Cambridge, was a remarkable man. His just-published "Life and Letters," has the grave fault of being twice as long as it ought to be. But those who have the time and patience to go through the two volumes, will find enough in them to repay perusal.

The turning-point of Sedgwick's career was his election to the Woodwardian Chair, in his thirty-fourth year. Up to that period he had shown no marked predilection for any particular kind of life-work. To procure a livelihood had been his sole object. "It was sheer poverty that drove me into harness," was his own confession. For this he toiled at mathematics as the most paying line of study, and was rewarded by the high honor of being fifth Wrangler and two years later by a Fellowship. Private tuition and a College lectureship in mathematics naturally followed, and he found the duties they entailed, a distasteful drudgery. After seven years tenure of his Fellowship, the statutes compelled him to take holy orders; but how little vocation he felt for the sacred office may be inferred from the cool way in which to his friend, Ainger, he notified his appointment, while absent seven years later on a geological trip, to a small college living a few miles from Cambridge: "I found by a letter that I was presented by the College to a small living near Cambridge, which I can hold with my Fellowship. A few hours after I reached Cambridge, I went up to London to be instituted. To-morrow I read in . . . I fear I shall not have much time for sermons, but I have hired a curate." From the weary listlessness and "melancholy depression of mind"—to use his own phrase—engendered by the failure to find any congenial employment for the powers of which he was conscious, the opportune vacancy in the Geological Professorship at last delivered him.

His election could be justified only on the principle, that of a science in its infancy, about which few possess more than a mere smattering of knowledge, a clever, energetic man, whose mind in regard to it is still a blank, is likely to turn out as good a teacher as any one else. Only one opponent faced him at the poll, Mr. Gorham, afterwards famous as the hero of the great ecclesiastical suit. Sedgwick's account of his own success is probably more amusing than accurate. "I had but one rival, Gorham, of Queen's," he said, "and he had not the slightest chance against me, for I knew absolutely nothing of geology, whereas he knew a good deal—but it was all wrong!" What really determined the voting was not any suspicion of the soundness of Gorham's geological faith, but the attractive character of Sedgwick, which, by this time, had gained him many enthusiastic adherents; the result, it must be confessed, vindicated the choice. The new Professor flung himself with all his fiery energy into the enterprise of acquiring a practical acquaintance with the science on which he was to lecture in the following spring; and in measure as he learned himself, he taught and continued to teach his pupils, till he had accomplished fifty-two annual courses of lectures without a single intermission.

That Sedgwick ever attained the highest rank as a teacher of his science cannot be fairly claimed for him. With age his lectures became extremely discursive; personal reminiscences, biographical touches, brilliant bursts, and laughter-kindling jokes, being mixed up with the more prosaic details, so as to produce a miscellaneous conglomerate, more delightful in the hearing than profitable for the examination-room. With regard to the quality of his intellect, it is not, we think, unfair to say that it was not eminently a scientific one. What he excelled in most was practical field-work—practical observation



of the dip, cleavage and succession of strata; in this department of geology he did admirable service towards placing the new science on a firm foundation. But in co-ordinating the vast array of facts, so as to form out of them a basis for the great cosmical theories which are the inheritance of his successors, he lagged behind his more philosophical contemporaries. He never broke loose from the entanglement of attempted reconciliation with the Biblical cosmogony, never ceased to invoke "successive creations of the organic kingdoms," to account for the order of life revealed in the rocks and clays. Lyell's great generalization of uniformity was always a stumbling-block to him, and evolution in every shape was to the end hated by him with a perfect hatred. It was years before he could discard the puerile idea, that the "vast masses of diluvial gravel scattered almost over the surface of the earth," were all due to the single catastrophe of the Noachian deluge; and not till after half a century of geological study, could he bring himself to ascribe any validity to the evidences for the vast antiquity of the human race, as contrasted with the historical period. Taken altogether, with all his acknowledged quickness of eye for the physical phenomena of the earth's surface, he was rather a journeyman-worker than a master in the field of his science. Yet in this subordinate position, by his ardor and enterprise, his racy utterances and social charm, he did more to popularize the subject than many who, from the merely scientific point of view, must be ranked considerably above him.

#### FORGED LITERATURE.

HENRY G. HEWLETT.

*Nineteenth Century, London, February.*

SPURIOUS and pseudonymous literature is probably nearly as old as literature itself. It was comparatively common in Ancient Greece and Rome, and may be said to have flourished among the Jews and early Christians. Bentley, in his *Dissertation upon Phalaris*, enumerates a series of works fathered upon some of the great classical writers, which, after deceiving many learned judges, were discovered by others of more discernment to be unauthentic. The epistles ascribed to the Sicilian tyrant (about 570 B.C.) he proved, to the satisfaction of all succeeding scholars, to be the work of an Attic Sophist belonging to a later age. Another such example may be mentioned. The extracts which Philo Byblius, a writer of the first century, A.D., professed to have translated from the works of Sanchuniathon, an ancient Phœnician author contemporary with Semiramis, are, by the general consent of modern scholars, held to be the invention of the ostensible translator.

Since Bentley wrote, the literature of Greece and Rome has been subjected to a searching criticism, and it is probable that many works, which in his time were unhesitatingly ascribed to great names, would be rejected as spurious by the consensus of the best living scholars. In Biblical criticism less unanimity yet prevails in this country, but it may be safe to say that most qualified critics, German and English, would agree in discrediting the Mosaic authorship of Deuteronomy, if not of the whole Pentateuch; the integrity and synchronism of the prophecies attributed to Isaiah; the authenticity of the Book of Daniel; and some of the writings ascribed to Solomon. It would be venturing upon ground even more debatable to adduce analogous examples from the New Testament, but the most conservative divines will admit that the books of which its canon is composed were accepted from a large mass of writings, more or less commonly accepted by the early Church as authentic and genuine Scriptures of venerable authors, the bulk of which are now acknowledged to be either pseudonymous or spurious. By the testimony of such Fathers as Irenæus and Epiphanius, the second century was very prolific in literature of this type. Without impeaching the credit of any books which

may still find defenders, it will suffice to instance a few notorious cases, *e. g.*: The Epistle of Jesus Christ to Abgarus, King of Edessa; The Book of Enoch, the Sibylline Oracles, and the writings of Dionysius, the Areopagite.

Rigidly to apply our standard of ethics to these ancient examples of fabricated literature would be obviously unjust, and discrimination is needed to determine their real character. With respect to many of the spurious works fathered upon classical writers, it is unnecessary to suspect any one of intentionally uttering them under false names. To uncritical readers, superficial resemblances between the style of a master and that of his imitator would suffice to suggest identity of authorship, and a surmise to that effect, started by one inventive brain, would soon circulate as assertive and be handed down to the following age as certainty. Still less are we called upon to stigmatize as forgers in a criminal sense, the authors of works, now admitted to be pseudonymous, which the early Christians accepted as authentic. Bearing in mind that it was from the Eastern Churches these fabrications usually proceeded, we may justly make large allowance for the difference which has always subsisted between the Western and the Eastern mind with regard to the value of truth. "The Oriental," says Renan, "tells with a bewitching candour, and with the accent of a witness, a crowd of things which he has not seen, and about which he is by no means certain. The fantastic tales of the Exodus from Egypt, which are told in Jewish families during the feast of the Passover, deceive nobody, yet none the less they enchant those who listen to them." Further, it must be remembered how fierce and ceaseless was the strife between the "Catholic" party in the Church and "heresiarchs" of various complexion, who disputed its assumption of orthodoxy; and how necessary an advocate must have deemed it, in the absence of any canonical standard of Scripture, to adduce the authority of some reverend name among the Apostles, or their immediate disciples to refute the contention of his opponent that the tenet in dispute was an unsound innovation.

For the authors of some of the later Christian apocrypha it would be difficult to offer the same excuses as for their predecessors. The clumsy interpolator of a well-known passage in Josephus (*Antiq. Lib.* 18, c. 3) can hardly be acquitted of a design to invent evidence wherewith to silence the assertion of Hebrew opponents, that the life of the Founder of Christianity was unrecorded by the historian of his era.

In estimating the culpability of a particular imposture, allowance may have to be made in some cases for an admixture of motives; the difference which has always existed between the moral standards of various races must also be taken into account. The respect for truth entertained by the Teutonic nations, for example, is, and has immemorially been higher than that acknowledged by the Celts. Since the elevation of the Christian ideal, however, of which truth is an integral part, no believer in its sanctity can be held blameless for a deliberate act of deception, in spite of any attempt to justify it by the urgency of other obligations.

Prominent among the pseudonymous fabrications of tyranny stands the Athanasian Creed which, although it still disfigures the Anglican Prayer Book, is admitted, by the general consent of theologians, "orthodox" and "heterodox" alike, to be falsely fathered upon the Alexandrian bishop of the third century, whose name it bears. The Decretals and the Donation of Constantine, two remarkable fabrications, which appeared in the eighth century, and were designed to confer the complement of temporal dominion on the wielders of spiritual tyranny, are attributed by Gibbon to the hand of a single writer, who borrowed the name of St. Isidore. From the *Scriptoria* of English monasteries, too, issued a large number of royal and private charters, purporting to endow them with valuable lands and franchises which, when examined by modern experts, have proven to be palpable forgeries. The proofs of this consist both in substantial discrepancies between these

documents and unimpeachable records elsewhere, and in glaring falsifications of names, dates and seals. Many similar frauds were hatched in Continental cloisters, and the almost exclusive possession of clerkly learning by the priestly orders rendered them very difficult of detection.

Although monastic forgers rang the changes of imposture with some artistic variation, the sameness of motives tinges all their attempts with a sordid monotony. There is more novelty in the forms of literary fraud prompted by inordinate vanity and thirst for notoriety. Among examples of this class, it must suffice in this digest to instance *The Voyages and Travels of Sir John Maundeville*, the *Eikon Basilike*, ostensibly written by King Charles I. in defense of his policy; George Psalmanazar's *Historical and Geographical Description of Formosa*; James Macpherson's attempt to conceal his personality behind the mask of Ossian; Chatterton's fabrication of the poems which he attributed to Thomas Rowley; Ireland's forgery of Shakesperian MSS., and the numerous well-known fabrications of the nineteenth century.

Reviewing all these evidences, we are amply warranted in taking the ground that it is safer to let the doctrines of a creed stand on their own merits than to vest the authority of the creed in the books which avow it.

#### "MR. SLUDGE" AND MODERN SPIRITUALISM.

DR. MORRIS JASTROW, JR.

*Poet Lore, Philadelphia, February.*

IN "Mr. Sludge, 'the Medium,'" Browning deals with one of those intricate psychological problems which appear to have a strong attraction for him—namely, the great scoundrels. It is comparatively easy to understand a good man; it is no difficult task to understand a thoroughly corrupt one, provided the corruption be associated with ignorance, and the degradation of the soul be due to the fact that it never rose out of the sloughs in which it was born and nurtured. But if one possessing more than average abilities, and with a fair prospect of gaining success by pursuing an honorable career, deliberately chooses a course that must eventually land him in disgrace, and in any case bring about the ruin of his true self, the problem presented is by no means easy to solve. The little scoundrels pass to the penitentiary and are forgotten; but the man who directs his mechanical genius towards devising an intricate machine to blow up a steamship is a decidedly interesting person, and becomes all the more interesting when we find out that the only reward which he expected for his exertions, involving the almost certain destruction of his own life, was a diamond pin in the possession of the captain.

Sludge belongs to this class of interesting scoundrels. There can be no doubt about his scoundrelism; he lies, he cheats, he claims to be a "medium," but the manifestations he brings about are all due to trickery. His scoundrelism merits the qualification "great," firstly, because he chooses an intricate means of accomplishing his end, and secondly, because the injuries he inflicts upon his victim are fatal.

Sludge takes us into his confidence, and after making full confession of his crimes, tells us how he came to be a fraudulent medium. It seems to me that it is difficult for even the most hostile or fastidious Browning critic to withhold his admiration at the remarkably keen analysis of a complicated character furnished us in this poem. The entire mechanism of the man's brain is, as it were, laid open before us, all its secret springs are revealed, and we feel as we part company with him that we know him thoroughly—better probably than he knows himself. The humor pervading the whole is delightful, the monologue form admirably adapted for the purpose, while the arrangement, with but few exceptions, strikes us as particularly skilful.

Can anything be more delightful than the self-confidence displayed by Sludge in the audacious prelude to his confession? A few words of flattery, the pathetic recalling of the happy

past—devices well calculated to play upon the nerves of the poor, brainless Horsfall.

Done!

May I sit, sir? This dear old table now!  
Please, sir, a parting egg-nog and cigars!  
I've been so happy with you! Nice stuffed chairs,  
And sympathetic side-boards; what an end  
To all the instructive evenings! (It's alright.)  
Well, nothing lasts, as Bacon came and said.  
Here goes—but—keep your temper or I'll scream!

We may be sure that Sludge will not tell his victim too much, and as a matter of fact, instead of revealing the mysteries of spiritualism as he promised, he reveals only himself. For us, however, this is far more important—indeed, it is the essence of the poem.

Sludge's argument may be divided into two parts. In the first part he shows, and shows justly, in how far the world is responsible for the existence of scoundrels like himself, and in the second he pleads in extenuation of his own direct share in the work the supposed good he has conferred on people by his tricks. In this stage his pride revolts against the imputation that he is the victim of circumstances, he actually boasts of the share he deliberately took in bringing about the utter ruin of his conscience. Aye, Sludge is a deceiver. But what of that? Does he not serve a good purpose? He poses as the champion of religion.

With my *phenomena*

I laid the Atheist sprawling on his back:—

Altogether the second part of Sludge's argument has not the *finesse* which characterizes the first part, but what it lacks in its psychological aspect it gains in actual force. Sludge pleads that his manifestations, though all the result of trickery, bring comfort to souls burdened with sorrow, filling hearts that might otherwise be fluttering on the verge of despair with the certainty of blissful reunion with loved ones beyond the grave.

But while Browning allows Sludge to draw his own portrait, he does not imply that we are to accept it as a true likeness. It suffices him to paint Sludge as Sludge appears to be, leaving it to us to discover what he really is.

An additional interest is lent to the poem by the views on modern spiritualism, which Browning indirectly, but none the less distinctly, reveals in this poem. Sludge is, for the poet, the type of a spirit medium, and not merely a worthless individual in the spiritualists' camp. For him modern spiritualism is merely another term for fraud and deceit.

#### THE MIGRATION OF BOOKSELLERS.

*Bookworm, London, February.*

THERE are few phases in the history of bookselling more interesting than that of localities. The recent and frequent migration of publishers and booksellers from the vicinity of St. Paul's churchyard to the western parts of London, has induced me to put together a few stray notes on the subject.

Until forty or fifty years ago publishing was almost exclusively confined to a few yards radius of St. Paul's churchyard, but the westward movement had commenced long before. The churchyard is, of course, the home of bookselling, but as time went on, its children, so to speak, repudiated their birthplace. In the middle of the sixteenth century, for example, Fleet Street contained nearly as many bookshops as the parent locality. W. Griffith was busy at the sign of the "Falcon," near St. Dunstan's church, printing booklets about current events with "flowery" titles, and these books he sold at his second shop, designated the "Griffin," "a little above the Conduit," in Fleet Street. William Powell, at the "George," was publishing religious books of various sorts, and a "Description of the Countrey of Aphrique," a translation of a French book on Africa, which was, perhaps, the very first on a topic, now to a great extent threshed out by Mr. Stanley's two goodly volumes. Richard Fotell—and who does not know of this king of sixteenth



century booksellers?—was dwelling at the "Hand and Star," between the two Temple gates, and just within Temple Bar, whence he sent forth books by a score and more distinguished men, and whose name is worthily linked with those of Littleton, More, Tasser, Grafton, Boccacio and many others. Other Fleet Street booksellers were William Copland, T. and W. Powell and Henry Wykes. As early as 1558 a publisher was issuing "chap-books," in connection with John Tisdale, at the Saracen's Head, in Holborn, near to the Conduit.

Probably the earliest, and certainly one of the earliest of the books published in Holborn, was the "Vision of Peers Plowman," "now fyrst imprinted by Robert Crowley, dwelling in Ely-rents, in Holburne," in 1550. In and about the year 1584 Roger Warde, a very prolific publisher, was dwelling near "Holburne Conduit at the sign of the 'Talbot,'" and a still more noteworthy individual lived hard by at the sign of the "Rose and Crown." About the same time Thomas Colwell had a shop at the sign of St. John the Evangelist, in St. Martin's parish, near Charing Cross, and a shop with the same sign in Fleet Street, near the Conduit. At this period Charing Cross and Holborn were mere suburban villages.

As time passed, and London spread its tendrils, the area of the booksellers widened. Early in the seventeenth century, several members of the fraternity had established themselves in and around Gray's Inn Gate then termed Lane. Making a clean jump of nearly a century we find booksellers' shops in the then aristocratic region of Bloomsbury. In the latter part of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century several booksellers had established themselves in Bond Street and Pall Mall.

To go back again to booksellers in the West End, it may be said that the fraternity had obtained no definite footing until shortly after the middle of the eighteenth century, when J. Almon began to acquire notoriety. His shop was opposite Burlington House. He was succeeded by James Debrett, a name still associated with publishing. During the last few years of the last century, Piccadilly and neighborhood became favorite spots with booksellers, the more notable being James Ridgway, York Street, St. James' Square; W. Miller, and T. Hookham, Old Bond Street; John Stockdale, whose name will ever be associated with that of Lord Erskine in connection with the liberty of the Press and R. Faulder, of New Bond Street, one of the forty booksellers against whom actions were brought for selling the "Baviad and Maviad."

Publishing in the West End has long ceased to be a novelty, and during the past quarter of a century the migratory movement has been strongly developing. Very many of the old publishing land-marks in the city are now merging into such prosaic affairs as drapers' shops. The change is truly one which can only be reviewed with regret by the literary antiquary, whom, however, the march of improvements and the exigencies of modern commercial life do not stop to consider.

### THREE FAMOUS OLD MAIDS.

AGNES REPPLIER.

*Lippincott's Magazine, Philadelphia, March.*

IT is a curious fact that three of the most successful and eminent literary women in England—Miss Austen, Miss Edgeworth and Miss Mitford—should have been typical old maids; not merely unmarried through stress of intervening circumstances—illness, early disappointment, self-sacrificing devotion to others—but women whose lives were rounded and completed without that element which we are taught to believe is the mainspring and prime motor of existence. To understand how thoroughly this was the case, we have but to turn to a later and very different writer, Charlotte Brontë, who married when she was thirty-eight, and died one year afterwards, and whose whole literary life was accordingly passed in spinsterhood. Yet, if the Rev. Mr. Nicholls had never appeared upon

the scene at all, it would have been impossible to call Miss Brontë a typical old maid. She had, indeed, the outward signs of one, prim demeanor, methodical habits, sarcastic attitude towards the male sex; but burning in every fibre of her being, and evident in every page of her writings, was that fierce unrest, that inarticulate, distressful longing of a woman who craves a mate. We can easily imagine Elizabeth Bennett and the very sensible Eleanor Dashwood, and even Emma Woodhouse, dearest and brightest of girls, slipping from their lovers' grasp and growing into old maids as charming as was Miss Austen herself; but poor plain Jane Eyre, and that insignificant little school-mistress, Lucy Snowe, are shaken and consumed with the passion of their desires. Such women cannot walk from the cradle to the grave, handling their lives with delicate satisfaction and content; they must find what they need or die.

It is amusing to note how the various critics and biographers of Miss Austen, Miss Edgeworth and Miss Mitford have debated and fretted over the painful lack of romance in their careers. Feminine critics, especially, find it difficult to believe that the lives of these women held no secret and justifiable cause for this otherwise inexplicable behavior, and many shadowy memories have been dragged to light. There seems to be not the ghost of a love-story connected with Miss Mitford's life. Although she devoted it, with touching unselfishness, to the care and support of an exacting father, it cannot be urged that in so doing she relinquished any distinct desire or prospect of matrimony. Perhaps the exasperating qualities of her parent inclined her to regard all men as Dolly Winthrop regarded them—"in the light of animals, whom it had pleased Heaven to make naturally troublesome." Be that as it may, all the exuberant affection of her girlhood, all the mature attachment of later years, is concentrated upon her father. No shadow of a suitor stands beckoning by her side. Her serene old age is haunted by no dim voices crying out from the past for the joy which had slipped from her grasp.

Miss Edgeworth, too, seems to have been lifted from the sphere of matrimony by the unusual strength of her family affections. Her devotion to her father, her two stepmothers, and her nineteen brothers and sisters, was of such an absorbing nature as to give her little leisure or inclination for mere matters of sentiment. When that handsome and earnest young Swede, he of the "superior understanding and mild manners," came to woo, he found, alas! that the lady could not tear her heart away from Ireland and her beautiful young stepsisters, to give it into his keeping. Mrs. Edgeworth says that Maria was mistaken in the strength of her own feelings; that she really loved M. Edelkrantz, but refused to marry him because her family could not bear to part with her, and because "she would not have suited his position at the Court of Stockholm," and because she feared her lack of beauty would one day lessen his regard. Shadow of shadows! Was there ever a woman who declined to marry a man she truly loved for such cloud-built reasoning as this!

In Miss Austen's case strenuous efforts have been made to cultivate a passable romance upon scanty soil. She was pretty, gay, and possessed an indefinable attraction for men, and was attracted by them, as a healthy-minded, happy-hearted girl should be. Her letters to her sister Cassandra are full of amusing confidences on the subject—confidences far too amusing, in fact, to give any sign or token of genuine feeling beyond.

Several differing love stories are connected with her name; but her nephew and biographer, Mr. Austen Leigh says, "Of Jane herself I have no love-tale to relate;" and this seems about the conclusion of the matter. "No man's life could be more entirely free from sentiment," admits, very reluctantly, one of her cleverest critics. "If love be a woman's chief business, here is a very sweet woman who had no share in it. It is a want, but we have no right to complain, seeing that she did not shape her course to please us."

This is a generous reflection on the critic's part, but is the want so very apparent as he thinks; or may we not be content with Jane Austen as we find her, the central figure of a little loving family group, the dearest of daughters and sisters, the gayest and brightest of aunts, the most charming and incomparable of old maids?

## SCIENCE AND PHILOSOPHY.

## FIVE SOULS WITH BUT A SINGLE THOUGHT.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL LIFE OF THE STAR-FISH.

CARUS STERNE.

*Monist, February, Chicago.*

THE investigation of the psychical faculties of animals is comparable to a journey into fairy-land. We do not know, and according to Du Bois-Raymond we shall never know, how our own mental activity has originated; yet in spite of this we deliberately form theories and opinions concerning the psychical powers and faculties of other beings, that in point of nervous organization are perhaps altogether different from us. But when we see an animal perform before our eyes purposive acts, and we recognize that our own thought operates in accordance with definite, rigorous laws; we shall still have to say to ourselves that a comparative animal psychology is, after all, not necessarily so hopeless a thing as one might be led to believe from the bold, and yet faint-hearted "Ignorabimus" of the distinguished Berlin physiologist. And, as a matter of fact, the range of insight obtained in very recent times in this very field is highly encouraging. On this occasion I should like to select for discussion, one of the most remarkable of questions, that, namely, which concerns the psychical activity of *many-souled* animals.

Quite a stir was made some years ago in scientific circles, when Haeckel began to philosophize about the souls of cells, or so-called plastidule souls; for it was patent that the course of life in the individual single cell of an animal or vegetable body, flowed on in such strict conformity with reason, that it was logically necessary to posit the presence of psychical guidance in the instance in question as much as in the case of composite cellular colonies in higher organic beings—especially since every single one of these composite organs begins its life as a simple cell, from which the others afterwards spring.

But let us pass by these subtle speculations to turn to a class of animals, in the case of which we may speak with more propriety than in the case of zoöphytes of a plural soul, since physically and psychically they act in every respect as if they had grown together out of five or more individuals—I mean the echinoderms in general, and the Star-fish (Asteroidea) in particular.

The observation which is most important for our present discussion, and which strikes us on first seeing a star-fish, or its relatives, the sea-urchin, and the sea-anemone, consists of the fact that these animals possess no head, which even the most insignificant worm or insect does not lack, and that, consequently, its organs are in want of a guiding, regulative member, possessing externally organs of sense, and having within a brain, with the power to communicate the requisite commands for the movement and conduct of the same. On the contrary, each single branch or ray possesses its own individual nervous system; and in the case of the voluntary separation of the rays, which frequently occurs, is able to continue life of its own independent accord, developing itself by the growth of new rays, into a new and complete star-fish. But these five or more nervous systems do not radiate from a common central nerve-ganglion which might be termed a central brain, but are merely joined to a nerve-ring, which lies in a common central portion encircling the œsophagus, this nerve-ring, in a majority of cases, forming a regular polygonic figure, and into each angle of the polygon, the nerve-cord of a ray entering. It will be seen from this structural arrangement, that the psychical and mental guidance of these animals is intrusted to a board of five members, who possess, it is true, sentient communication with each other, but act without the intermediation of a presiding officer.

The star-fishes and all their relatives act physically like a

federal animal-union, composed of five independent animal-states, and, as I observed in the first edition of my work, "Werden und Vergehen" (1876) we are here confronted with the psychological enigma of a five-fold Siamese monster, as it were, in which five separate persons were brought mentally under the same guidance, or where five minds had to pull, simultaneously, one rope. On account of the absence of a head and brain in these animals, Romanes, and other well-known modern physiologists have taken the view that, in a much fuller sense than was predicated of all animals by the Cartesians, these especially are irrational automatons, or, to use a technical expression, are mere "reflex organisms," animals in which only direct, external excitations evoke with unalterable regularity responsive movements.

This subject has now been investigated by one of the most brilliant representatives of modern experimental physiology and psychology, Professor W. Preyer, who found, in confirmation of the view that previously obtained, that these animals actually did respond in a rare degree to given stimuli in a manner determined once for all; it could be foretold with a degree of sureness, verging on astronomical certainty, how, for example, the sucker-feet of a star-fish would act if the animal, in its normal and sound condition, was irritated at this or that place, powerfully or weakly, one time or many times successively, by mechanical or chemical applications, by electric currents or heated instruments. The effect of the irritation was propagated through the inner nerve-ring, according to the same laws by which a fluid under pressure, or an electric current in a similar conductory system, would proceed. But whatever might be inferred from this experiment in favor of the senseless and unintelligent life of star-fishes, Professor Preyer was able, by extending his experiments, to win the conviction that the old conception of star-fishes being real reflex animals was wholly untenable, since a great number of capacities and capabilities could be provoked and verified, which are intelligible only on the basis of adaptive co-operation, and mutual concerted action in the five rays.

But Preyer is, nevertheless, of opinion, that it is not necessary to assume the existence of a permanent central government, a central soul, holding simultaneous sway over the five radical souls, and in which is lodged full executive power. He employs the simile of five hunting-dogs yoked together in the form of a ring, of like age, like power, and the same training, who hunt a hare in concert or stand simultaneously and mechanically before a partridge; when thrown into the water they make for the shore, all in the same direction, and when equally tired fall simultaneously asleep. Unlike such abnormal unions as the Siamese twins, the several rays of a star-fish do not have to die together, but are able to break loose with impunity from a ray which has sustained injury.

## THE PRESENT PROBLEM OF HEREDITY.

HENRY FAIRFIELD OSBORN.

*Atlantic Monthly, Boston, March.*

A LIVELY war of opinion is now in progress among the evolutionists. In the general endeavor to establish a great law of organic nature, many differences of opinion as to the factors of evolution have hitherto been suppressed. But once the great law was firmly established, these differences began to make themselves felt, and the allies slowly broke up into schools representing diverse shades of opinion. The defection first showed itself in various degrees of dissent from Darwin's hypothesis of natural selection. At the same time, the older Lamarckian ideas of evolution began to gain ground; and the question of natural inheritance, which had been held secondary and incidental, became the main one; and it is the problem of heredity which has finally provoked open dissension.

Professor August Weissmann, of Freiburg, enjoys the distinction of having precipitated the actual split, by throwing



down the glove in the contention as to the inheritance or non-inheritance of acquired characters.

A challenge so radically affecting a long-accepted law recognized in frequent allusions in the Old Testament, and popularly regarded as so self-evident as to be in no need of demonstration, has naturally drawn some strong expressions of opinion from every modern writer upon evolution. Upon the affirmative side, including the late Charles Darwin and Moritz Wagner, we find Herbert Spencer, Professor Turner of Edinburgh, Professor Theodor Eimer of Tübingen, and the greater number of American naturalists, among whom Professor Cope is the most prominent and aggressive. Francis Galton and George Romanes occupy a somewhat neutral position. Among the avowed opponents of this doctrine besides their leader Weissmann, is the veteran Alfred Wallace, whose recent work, "Darwinism" is a plea for the omnipotency of natural selection, and to him Weissmann's theory comes as a most welcome support. Others are Ray Lankester, Edward Poulton, a younger Oxonian and translator of Weissmann's essays, and in this country, Professor Brooks of Johns Hopkins, whose conversion to this view has more weight from the fact that his essay, "Heredity," was devoted to the opposite hypothesis.

This now disputed principle of inheritance, bears the name of Lamarck, who, although he was anticipated by Buffon and Erasmus Darwin, made it the keystone of his conception of evolution, and first formulated the view in the proposition that: "All that has been acquired, impressed or altered in the organization of individuals during the course of their life is preserved by generation, and transmitted to the new individuals which spring from those who have inherited these changes." Darwin, at a later period of his life, put forward the provisional heredity hypothesis of Pangenesis; but no attempt having been made to show how acquired characters could definitely affect the reproductive cells in such a manner as to be perpetuated in the race, the field was open for the entirely novel lines of reasoning upon this problem of genesis which Weissmann has followed in reaching his beautiful and comparatively simple hypothesis of the "continuity of the germ-plasm." "How is it," the question resolved itself in his mind, "that a single reproductive cell of the body can contain within itself all the hereditary tendencies of the whole organism?" The answer which he gives, after long years of research, is that the cell is not, as implied by Pangenesis, collected from the entire parental soma or body, but is budded directly from the particular cells from which the parent itself sprang; such germ or race cells giving rise to the cells which will form the new individual, also to the new germ cells contained within it, the individuals being thus mere offshoots of a continuous chain of race cells which are, in a planetary sense, immortal. This race plasma has the marvellous power inherent, in all protoplasm, of imparting its properties through the course of indefinite growth and subdivision.

The complete chain of Weissmann's biological philosophy, then is this, that the physical vehicle of inheritance is continuous, that variations result from the mingling of diverse ancestral characters; that acquired characters are not inherited; that the natural selection of the fortuitous variations is sufficient to explain all the phenomena of evolution.

All our countrymen have derived their bias chiefly from the palæontological series, which are so richly suggestive of Lamarckian ideas. Reviewing the ancient pedigree of the American horse, we find that in every detail, the course of evolution follows the course of individual adaptation so closely, that endowing the eocene Hyracotherium with the age of Methuselah and a corresponding supply of elixir vitæ, we can readily imagine its transmutation into the miocene Mesohippus. Now it is hard for us to believe, with the new school, that these invariable sequences of race adaptation upon individual adaptation are not instances of cause and effect. If they are, they afford absolute proof of the transmission of acquired characters.

If they are not, then all our painstaking researches and vast literature upon this subject are of no more value than waste paper, for they lead to no result.

If the Weissmann idea triumph, it will be in a sense a triumph of fatalism; for according to it, while we may indefinitely improve the forces of our education and surroundings, and this civilizing nurture will improve the individuals of each generation, its effects will not be cumulative as regards the race itself, but only as regards the environment of the race; each new generation must start *de novo* from the old level. On this view a man might, in his own early life squander the entire capital of a fine intellectual and moral inheritance, and yet subsequently transmit it unimpaired and undiminished to his children, by what we might term a principle of entail in heredity.

## WHAT IS REALITY?

### CREATIVE INTELLIGENCE.

THE REVEREND FRANCIS H. JOHNSON.

*Andover Review, Boston, March.*

WHEN we say that Creation is designed origination, do we mean absolute origination, creation out of nothing? or is the term properly applied to that relative kind of origination that consists in forming new combinations from elements already in existence? I think we ought, in practical discussions to use the word only in this latter sense; because this is the only kind of creation that our experience tells us anything about.

Men could never have had a thought of God as the creator of the world, were it not that they had first known themselves as creators. This knowledge of ourselves as causative agents is no delusion, but the truth of truths, the reality underlying all realities. When, therefore, we try to rise from our own experiences to the thought of a Supreme Creator we abandon our base of reality unless we retain the *order of nature* as an inseparable part of our conception.

A second discovery revealed by the analogy is, that when we reflect upon man as a creator, we think of the cities which he has built, the works of art with which he has stored them, etc., regardless of the fact that these are only secondary, comparatively remote results of his constructive powers, oblivious of the fact that all his primary, immediate creations are to be sought and found elsewhere. The work of men's hands presents no analogy to the labors of a Being, whom we conceive of as working without hands. But the moment we turn our attention to what goes on within us, creation without hands is seen to be the rule not the exception. The brain of every man is a cosmos, a world of plastic materials that are to a very considerable degree, the instruments of his intelligence and will. In this world he thinks, and obedient to his thought, nerve-cells are modified, and cell combinations are formed that would otherwise have no existence. An acquired faculty is an exceedingly complex piece of mechanism that has been constructed by the intelligently directed efforts of the *ego* to which it belongs. These are unquestionable facts of every day experience, and the bearing of them upon the larger problem of creations seems to me to be almost equally clear and unavoidable. If this world is an organic unity, if all its parts are related to each other, why should we hesitate to follow out the analogy which is pressed upon us, from every side, by the evidences of adaptation? Why should we not think of the whole protoplasmic world, as a specialized part of the greater organism upon which the Creator impresses His thought, as a man does his upon the congeries of nerve-cells that he calls his brain?

In every one there is a class of brain-cells, living beings, individual existences, which is susceptible of further differentiation and organization, and it is by means of these that the human creative faculty is able to accomplish its ends. The *ego*, so to speak, impregnates these cells with specific characteristics,

which are often faithfully transmitted from generation to generation during the life of the individual. A large class of cell modifications are made without the design of the *ego*, but intentionally produced specializations follow the same law. The skill of a musical performer, of one who has learned to write, or of one who has acquired a foreign language remains, although the brain-cells originally educated may long ago have perished.

We have here within the realm of human activities, a true instance of the creation, by intelligence, of specialized organisms—organisms that, subject to further modifications from the *ego*, reproduce their kind like the different species of animals; and turning back with this thought to our analogy, we are more than ever impelled to the belief that the world of exceedingly diversified, but closely related living forms, each producing after its kind, are the more or less direct results of the divine creative thought working upon the protoplasm of our planet.

But it may be argued that, granting that intelligence has been a factor in creation, there is no necessity for postulating a Supreme Being. At least it may be said, before we invoke the agency of a higher being, let us satisfy ourselves that the results we contemplate could not have been brought about by intelligent adjustment intelligently formed, through countless generations by the very beings whose transformations we study. There is much to be said for this view. Among domestic animals we find many instances of intelligent habits become constitutional, as the young shepherd dog or pointer taking up the tasks required of him without training; exhibiting, as it were, the fruit of the tree of intelligent experience without the tree. But if we now make the hypothesis that all instincts have originated in the same manner, that they are all the outward expressions of special organizations from ancestors that formed them intelligently, we are at once met with the difficulty that, as we descend the zoological scale, the evidences of general intelligence diminish rapidly, while we continually encounter instincts the nature of which seems to preclude the *possibility* of intelligent origination; as for example, the provision made by innumerable insects for depositing their eggs in circumstances favorable to their proper development. We cannot ascribe these capacities of adaptation to the intelligence of the creature, unless we are prepared to attribute to creatures very low in the scale, a far higher degree of foresight and inventive skill than has ever been attained by man. Two courses are now open to us. We may follow Romanes in his assumption that when we have come to the end of creative intelligence we have come to the end of all intelligence. Or holding fast by our analogy, we may seek in a higher sphere of being for the intelligence that we cannot find in the creature; an intelligence that works through the creature in virtue of the organic relations that it sustains to it.

#### THE MORAL CRITERION.

ALFRED H. PETERS.

*Unitarian Review, Boston, March.*

THE question of the ages is the question of Duty. Questions of creeds and of institutions depend mainly upon this, and questions of physical laws serve mainly as means towards clearing the way to it. Life, although superficially a torrent of self-love, has running through it a force, whereof the strongest and most unscrupulous self-love stands in dread. The one thing which the masters of mankind sooner or later have to reckon with, is the tide of opinion towards what constitutes right and wrong in human conduct.

In the ocean of thought, whereon civilization has thus far been upborne on two mighty currents arising from separate understandings of this question—the underflow as it were of two preponderant rivers of conception, each acting more or less

upon the other, and sometimes commingling, but never in affinity—the utmost ingenuity of the human mind has striven to make these currents coalesce and become as one, but always ineffectually, the genius of each being born of principles which are inconceivable. These principles are “the absolute,” or the conception of an invariable, all-perfect criterion, and “the relative” or the conception of a conditional criterion of judgment. Conduct ordered upon one principle pre-supposes knowledge of a First Cause; upon the other, knowledge only of secondary causes. Positive and comparative, ultimate and proximate, fixedness and fluxation—how assuredly futile is all effort to blend the underlying principles of these conjoined ideas.

The master spirits, they towards whom thought has converged most, invariably recognize this. Their example and precept are pure emanations from one or the other principle. Civilization, however, being an effort to conciliate the opposing principles, is a series of actions and reactions between them. Wherever men have exalted obedience, their inspiration has been from the one; and wherever they have exalted intelligence, their inspiration has been from the other. Men appear to have been equally strenuous in promoting the supremacy of either principle. It requires the same devotion to succeed in a war for freedom, that it does to succeed in a war for faith, and the same renunciation to make a philosopher that it does to make a saint. Nothing better illustrates the irreconcilability of these principles than the fact, that men always have accomplished most when inspired but by one of them at a time, whichever it may have been. It might almost be said, that nothing pre-eminently great ever was accomplished under the inspiration of the one, except during decadence of the other.

All speculation concerning man's first conception of the absolute soon loses itself, and speculation concerning man's first conception of the relative is just as vague. While, as a mental creation, it is subordinate and posterior to the absolute; as an actual force the relative can hardly be separated from it. Confronted at the beginning of his existence by this inexorable force, man's first effort is to put himself in some degree of harmony therewith. For a prolonged period man obeyed this force unconsciously, as for the most part he does still. Necessity he is wont to call it; and according to the measure wherein he escapes it, he considers himself fortunate and successful. Upon this force is continually pressing the alternative of choice—a responsibility man would fain shift upon some one else. Disappointed in the event, he calls it “for the best,” which is but another way of saying that he cannot help himself. Upon the relative everywhere depends the resistless movement which we call development—that mill of the gods, which, however slowly it may grind, is perpetually resolving old things into new.

Here, then, is the parting of the ways. Either a certain rule of conduct is right because every other rule is wrong, or it is right because among all rules it appears to be the one least wrong. Along these diverse ways proceed the moral movements of the race, the change of which from one to the other always constitutes an epoch in history. As to which principle makes the more for morality, both in the ideal and in realization thereof, men have never been able to agree; and all the less, because each principle, separately, has inspired some of the most moral types of the race.

For their own peace, if not for the peace of others, an absolute criterion of duty appears indispensable to those deficient in the quality of self-reliance, and unhappily absoluteness is inseparable from authority; and they who are in authority are seldom proof against moral degeneracy, if their authority be prolonged, and the state of society admits.

The conception of the relative as a principle of thought and action can exist only in minds that have undergone a certain degree of development. Relativeness, therefore, while a ruling



principle in fact, never has been a ruling principle in theory with the majority of mankind.

What, then, is morality, this preserver of individuals, of families, of nations, and of civilizations? It is that conduct which makes most towards the development of our higher powers—the active exercise of that inward sense which assures us that the doing of what we conceive to be right does either please an infinite intelligence, or help forward what ought to be, in place of what is. Every civilization in which man's chief end is the gratification of sense has ultimately given way to one wherein man magnifies the fortifying virtues, in other words—to one wherein man is more moral.

#### FROST RIFTS.

*Ueber Land und Meer, Stuttgart, February.*

NOTHING is continuous in nature, except change. Birth, growth and decay, with its joys and sorrow, follow each other in unbroken succession; and neither sea, nor rocks, nor plants, nor animals, nor even the earth or the solar system, is free from the universal law. Whatever is, is forever fructifying the germs of that which shall be. There lurks, also, in the green tree many causes of destruction. An important factor is the frost, which not only kills the delicate seedlings and the young buds and shoots; but even the giant trees of the forest, that have withstood the fury of the storm and the lightning's flash, the scorching of the sun and other evils that trees are heir to, fall not infrequently under the destructive influence of the riving frost. The combustion which attends the growth of plants, generates, even in winter, a certain measure of warmth, which keeps the sap fluid and in circulation. When the cold is excessive, the bark, and the underlying sapwood, contract over the drier and closer grained heartwood, and sometimes the sap under the bark is frozen in its course; and as the fluid expands at the moment of conversion into ice, the bark and sapwood are frequently rent by rifts, on the same principle as rocks are rent asunder when water congeals in their rifts. These frost rifts in trees, partly straight, partly in gentle spiral lines, vary from about four inches to four or five yards long, the larger rifts being attended by a report like a musket shot. If the tree is rendered more rigid by ice, through the congelation of rain or damp snow, it is all the more easily riven. The sudden access of bright sunshine to frozen trees, by causing unequal expansion of the wood, will also sometimes result in rifts, and as a consequence the outer trees of a forest and isolated trees, are more liable to injury from alternating heat and cold than the trees in dense forests, in which the temperature is modified by the combustion of vegetation, and more equally diffused. The early morning hours, with their minimum temperature, are the most dangerous, and the harder woods are more easily riven than the soft woods. The wounds thus generated in trees, if not themselves fatal, become convenient places of resort for noxious insects or destructive fungi. Nature makes some provision against both dangers, partly by resinous secretions on the wounded surfaces, partly by the deposition of fresh cambium layers, which close up the wound. The value of the trees is, nevertheless, more or less impaired, either by the rift itself, by the secondary results or by abnormal growth. Rifts once healed do not offer the same power of resistance to frost as compact, rounded, smooth stems; and the only recourse of the forester is to shelter the forest from cold winds and frost, by a growth of hardy trees.

On almost any excursion to the forest we may easily discover such distorted trees, but it is not always easy to decide whether the tree before us has been riven by frost or lightning. Lightning rifts are generally more extensive and more irregular than frost rifts, and appear to be charred. But while casting a glance at the destructive forces which nature wields so relentlessly, so incessantly, we should not let it mar our enjoyment of life, remembering always that when Nature is engaged in destruction, it is but the first step in her process of generating new life out of the ruins.

## RELIGIOUS.

### THE DIVINE AUTHORITY OF THE SCRIPTURES VERSUS RATIONALISTIC CRITICISM.

D. S. GREGORY, D.D.

*Homiletic Review, New York, March.*

THE purpose of the present article is to estimate the claims of rationalistic criticism to have demonstrated the Scriptures to be false and, therefore, to say the least, not an infallible rule of belief and practice.

#### I.—THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF RATIONALISTIC CRITICISM.

The attack of Strauss and Renan was directed against the *Supernatural* as centring in the *historic Christ*. The Gospel history is *mythical*, pure fable without any better basis of historical facts than the "Arabian Nights": so affirmed Strauss. It is all *legendary*, a mixture of fact and fable, which can only be separated by the aid of critical intuition: so asserted Renan. There is *no such thing as a personal God*, and, therefore, no supernatural or miraculous manifestations: so assumed both Strauss and Renan. The effect of all this has been to awaken Christian thought and the result has been, that both Pantheism and Positivism, which did their best in Strauss and Renan, have utterly and ignominiously failed.

The latest school of the Higher Criticism has prudently changed the point of attack from the New Testament to the Old. Following the lead of Astruc, of a century and a half ago, the critics have reached the most extreme and absurd conclusions. The books of Moses are assumed to have been, not the production of one master mind, but made up of various documents pieced together by a succession of editors. There was "a first Elohist and a second, a first Jehovist and a second, a Deuteronomist, and one or more final redactors, and the form which the Hexateuch now holds was not settled until after the Exile." This whole theory is a tissue of assumption and assertion: in the light of the best scholarship of the day the case stands thus:

*First.* The philosophical basis and inspiration of the entire hypothesis are atheistic.

*Second.* The hypothesis contradicts all the internal evidence.

*Third.* The hypothesis contradicts all the old historical evidence.

*Fourth.* The hypothesis is in the face of the new historical evidence.

The new history has demonstrated the utter falsity of the critical assumptions regarding the *date* of the Pentateuch. Equally complete is the refutation of the assumption of these theorists regarding the *manifold authorship* of the Hexateuch.

#### II.—MUST THE BIBLE GO?

The most that can be even plausibly claimed by the critics, as a result of the old criticism and the new combined, is that there are certain "discrepancies" and "contradictions," real or apparent, or both, in the Scriptures. What is the attitude logically required of us towards the Scriptures by these facts? The skeptics of to-day still agree with Tom Paine that the Bible must go. What shall be done? By this I mean, What is the common-sense, rational and scientific course?

The first thing to be done is to remove, as far as possible, all inaccuracies that have resulted from copying the Scriptures from age to age. Absolute authority is claimed for the "original autographs" only. In the matter of *numbers* and *dates*, in which, from the peculiar methods of the Hebrew, there has been special liability to errors in copying, it is doubtful whether the original can ever be reached with absolute accuracy; but this in no way involves the integrity of the system of divine revelation.

But assuming that there will still be discrepancies and things apparently irreconcilable, the Church is as far as possible from being shut up to the abandonment of the authority of the

Scriptures. There still remains the three courses suggested by Sir Robert Peel and emphasized by Henry Rogers, in the *Greyson Letters*, any one of which is open.

*First.* We can suppose the discrepancies *actual and irreconcilable*. A man may make this admission, and then resolve the difficulty by omitting those portions of Scripture.

*Second.* We may let the apparent discrepancies alone and not pronounce upon them at all. They may be *only apparent*, and all may be explained in due time. In the mean time, the most is to be made of what is clear. This is simply waiting for light before forming a theory on the subject.

*Third.* We can assume that the discrepancies are *only apparent and will all be explained* in due time. It is the attitude of confident expectation. The vast and increasing volume of the Christian evidence is in favor of this.

The so-called irreconcilable contradictions are fast disappearing from the Bible. Moses said, that "the Lord God made man out of the dust of the earth." For ages the skeptic laughed at him; but a century ago the science of chemistry was born, and it has since demonstrated the truth of the statement of Moses. Fifty years ago it was customary to scout the Mosaic record of creation as absurd. The science of geology, however, has been taking shape, and if any one will consult the Appendix of Dana's *Manual of Geology*, he will find it there demonstrated that Moses, in his story of the six days of creation, anticipated by forty centuries the results of the latest science. Who—in this age when the old civilizations contemporaneous with Joseph and Moses and Daniel are coming forth from the sepulchre of the ages—is able to affirm on any rational grounds that any one of all the remaining difficulties in the Scriptures will not in time be removed? Nothing could savor more of irrationality and cowardice, nothing could be less warranted scientifically by the facts, than the abandonment of the word of God as the complete and infallible rule of truth and life.

#### FREEDOM OF RELIGIOUS DISCUSSION.

PROF. MAX MÜLLER.

*Frum, New York, March.*

RELIGION differs from all other subjects, in so far as it appeals not only to the head, but to the heart. And as we do not like those whom we love criticised or even compared, it is but natural, that many people should object to a criticism of that religion which they love, and even to a comparison of it with other religions. But does this attitude with regard to those whom we love and revere really prove that we have an undoubting faith in them. In all other matters an independent judgment in riper years is encouraged, but every kind of influence is used to discourage a free examination of the religious dogmas that have been engrafted on our intellect in its tenderest stage. We do not hesitate to send missionaries to Jews, Turks and infidels, to ask them to examine their own time-honored religions. We attack their most sacred convictions; we wound their tenderest feelings; we break up the peace and happiness of their homes. And yet, if some learned Jew like Mendelssohn, if some subtle Brahman like Rammohan Roy, ay, even if some outspoken Zulu like Colenso's friend, turns round on us, presses us to explain the Athanasian creed, or challenges the evidence on which we accept certain miracles, we are surprised and offended, forgetting, that with regard to these questions, we can claim no privilege, no immunity.

When I say "we," I mean only those of us who have rejected once for all the infallibility of every human authority. If we have once claimed the freedom of the spirit which St. Paul claimed, "to prove all things, and to hold fast that which is good," we cannot turn back and say that no one shall prove our own religion. We have to choose once for all between freedom and slavery of judgment, and I may remind those who prefer slavery to judgment, that they follow their own private

judgment in doing so. In claiming infallibility for popes and councils, they claim in reality far greater infallibility for themselves.

A certain great theologian used to draw, in eloquent and touching words, the picture of a child, sleeping in the cradle and dreaming happy dreams of God and His angels. "Who would wake such a child?" he said. There is certainly no happier life than a life of simple faith, of literal acceptance, of rosy dreams. May I go further and gladly acknowledge, that the happiest, and not only the happiest but also the best men and women I have known in this life, were those who would have shrunk with horror from questioning a single letter in the Bible, and from doubting that the serpent actually spoke to Eve and the ass to Balaam. But can we prevent the light of the sun and the noises in the street from waking the happy child from his heavenly dreams? Nay, is it not our duty to wake the child, when it is time that he should be up and doing, and take his share in the toils of the day?

I know there are some who hold that the faith of the child is as good as that of the sage, and that an ignorant old woman who cannot read her Bible, may be a far better Christian than a young curate who has taken a first class at Oxford. So far as practical religion goes, no doubt many a poor widow who throws in her two mites into the treasury, is better than the scribes and rich men who cast in their gifts; and who that ever saw an innocent child dying, stretching her arms towards angel faces above, and giving her last look to all whom she loved on earth—can doubt, that of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. But we are speaking of something quite different, although it is called by the same name. We are speaking about the beliefs of cultivated and highly educated men; about the conceptions that they form of the Deity, of the relation of the human to the divine, of the true meaning of revelation, of the true nature of miracles, and of the historical character of their sacred books. All these are questions which do not exist for millions of human beings and of which they need not take any cognizance at all, but which nevertheless, to those for whom they once exist, are questions of the deepest import. On these questions we must claim the same freedom which even the most orthodox of Brahmins allowed to their fellow-creatures. Do not think that this appeal for freedom of conscience comes from the educated laity only. The educated clergy are sighing for it even more.

It may be quite right to guard against dangers, whether real or imaginary, so long as it is possible; but when it is no longer possible, I feel certain that the right thing is to face the enemy bravely. In writing on religion, even on natural religion, the true course is to look all facts straight in the face, to see whether they are facts or not, and if they are facts to find out what they mean.

#### GREEK FORERUNNERS OF CHRIST.

THE REVEREND PETER LILLY.

*Monthly Packet, London, February.*

I. SOCRATES.

IT was formerly supposed by Christian writers that Christianity stood in no relation towards other modes of belief, except the relation of the one Divine and true to the many human and false; and alien religions were referred to in order to exhibit the hopeless folly and imbecility of the human mind, when unilluminated by the rays of a supernatural revelation. A more sympathetic study has produced a juster estimate, and we have learned to recognize the fact that, on the one hand, Christianity, whatever it may be in its ideal aspects, has not, in its historical manifestations, escaped the disfigurement of many an error and superstition; and, on the other hand, the religions which alone could pretend to rival it, contain, amid their misconceptions, some grand, if imperfect truths, and represent the upward, rather the downward, tendency of mankind.

Athens, during the life of Socrates, B.C. 469-399, was the



most marvellous microcosm that the world has ever witnessed. For late times whole empires must be laid under contribution to furnish an amount of talent at all comparable with that which once graced a single city. Yet even thus, traces of that mysterious, oft-repeated writing on the wall—"thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting"—were not absent.

But it is ever to be remembered, as the most enduring fact in her record, that in this brilliant city of Athens, revelling as it did in natural and artistic beauty, the conscience of Greece was awakened to most earnest thought on the great problem of the destinies of man.

Greek philosophy, in its initial period, had concerned itself exclusively with the outward world. As a race, the Greeks were long preoccupied with things seen and temporal. Eminently at home in their lovely surroundings, they found the attraction of visible nature irresistible. Accordingly the early thinkers confined their endeavors to investigating the properties of matter.

The first great change which pointed directly to the Socratic philosophy was effected by Anaxagoras, who was born B.C. 500, and who went to Athens at the age of twenty. It is generally believed that Socrates himself was one of his many illustrious pupils, among whom also were Euripides and Pericles.

Anaxagoras was first among Greek philosophers to throw any light on the absolute difference between spirit and matter. Nature is no longer alone, but is controlled by a higher power, which must be investigated. This is the first conscious glimpse of that inner spirit which Socrates was to emphasize so strongly.

Socrates thus appeared at a turning-point in Greek thought, and not only so, but it was a crisis, too, in the more external history of Greece. The exhausting and disastrous course of the Peloponnesian war was but the prelude to a continuous and almost unparalleled decline. While Athens and Lacedæmon were ruining Greece by their insane rivalry, Socrates was providing his countrymen with a more lasting kingdom than that which had been built up at the expense of Xerxes.

No one more truly lived what he thought than Socrates; the memory he left with his disciples, the affection and respect with which they ever cherished his name, are sufficient evidence of his elevation of character and moral piety. He was indeed a Greek of Athens, and as such too much enthralled by Pagan customs. But his life was none the less a noble life; and they are but clumsy defenders of Christianity who have imagined that the Gospel is magnified by denying him honor.

To turn now to his teaching itself: The Socratic doctrine is one steady protest against the sophistry of his day. The false teaching had destroyed all certainty of truth or goodness, involving the moral law in the same doubt and confusion as scientific truth. Socrates sought to reestablish the certainty of both, and in his desire to place them upon an irremovable basis, he binds them inseparably together, identifying virtue with knowledge. When we consider that he did this simply from his strong desire to establish moral certainty upon the very nature of things. When we think of his brave efforts to deliver his generation from a fatal skepticism, we must acknowledge the inestimable service rendered by him to the Greek conscience.

Socrates taught, in the most explicit way, the doctrine of a divine purpose in creation, and of personal relations between the divine and the human. But with regard to the divine nature and the essence of the human soul, he speaks ambiguously. In a certain sense he is monotheistic, for in distinction from the "other" gods, he mentions "Him who orders and holds together the entire cosmos, in whom all things are beautiful and good." So also he speaks of "Him who, from the beginning, makes men," and of "the eye of God," and of the wisdom (or intelligence) of God.

Of the soul of man, Socrates says: This, if anything else that is human does, partakes of the divine, and this participation he seems to regard as the possession of a part of the divine substance.

The great gift of Socrates to his age was the awakening of the conscience, the creation of a thirst after righteousness, which it was not for him to satisfy. He felt the yearning that Christ came to soothe. One after another the best of the Greek philosophers confessed their need of some new power to give effect to their teaching. To each of them it might truly have been said, "Sir, thou hast nothing to draw with and the well is deep." But it was their glory to have prepared the way for One who was Himself the Truth and the Life.

## Books.

### POLITICAL SCIENCE AND CONSTITUTIONAL LAW.

Volume I., Sovereignty and Liberty; Volume II., Government. By John W. Burgess, Ph.D., LL.D., Professor of History, Political Science and International Law, Dean of the University Faculty of Political Science in Columbia College. Systematic Series, edited by the University Faculty of Political Science in Columbia College. 2 vols., 8vo, pp. 337, 404. Boston and London: Ginn & Company, 1890.

#### SECOND PAPER.

[It is shown by the title-page, and has also been mentioned, that this work deals with three themes: "Sovereignty," "Liberty" and "Government." A condensation of that portion of the book relating to "Sovereignty" was given last week. We now digest the portion relating to "Liberty" and "Government." The question of "Government" occupies the entire Second Volume, in which the constitution of the legislative department, the executive, and the judiciary department in the United States, Germany, England and France is minutely analyzed. The space at disposal does not admit of any compendium of this minute analysis. A few only of the general conclusions can be noticed.]

**I**NDIVIDUAL liberty has a front and a reverse, a positive and a negative side. Regarded upon the negative side, it contains immunities, upon the positive, rights; *i.e.*, viewed from the side of public law it contains immunities, from the side of private law, rights. The whole idea is that of a domain, in which the individual is referred to his own will, and upon which *government* shall neither encroach itself, nor permit encroachments from any other quarter. It is not, however, shielded from the power of the *state*.

The *state* is the source of individual liberty. The revolutionists of the eighteenth century said that individual liberty was natural right; that it belonged to the individual as a human being, without regard to the state or society in which, or the government under which, he lived. But it is easy to see that this view is utterly impracticable and barren; for, if neither the state, nor the society, nor the government defines the sphere of individual autonomy and constructs its boundaries, then the individual himself will be left to do these things, and that is anarchy pure and simple. The experiences of the French revolution, where this theory of natural rights was carried into practice, showed the necessity of this result.

The elements of individual liberty cannot be generally formulated for all states and for all times. All mankind is not to be found, or has not yet been found, upon the same stage of civilization. The individual liberty of the Russian would not suffice for the Englishman, nor that of the Englishman at the time of the Tudors for the Englishman of to-day. The elements of individual or civil liberty are much more generally and uniformly recognized than the elements of political rights.

The means for protecting individual liberty differ radically in the four states whose constitutional law I am examining. The difference appears most prominently on that side of individual liberty which I term immunities. In the system of the United States it is the sovereignty back of the government, which defines and defends individual liberty, not only against all forces extra-governmental, but also against the arbitrary encroachments of the government itself. This is the special point in which the constitutional law of the United States is far in advance of that of the European states. Of the three European constitutions which I am examining, only that of Germany contains, in any degree, the guarantees of individual liberty which the Constitution of the United States so richly affords. The German imperial constitution has made a beginning in this direction, but only a beginning. In the French system there is not the slightest trace of a constitutional guarantee of individual liberty. In the English system, while there are no constitutional guarantees of individual liberty against the Parliament, either when it acts as constituent assembly or when it acts simply as legislature, the individual has the defense of the regular courts, *i.e.*, of the independent judiciary, against executive encroachments upon liberty. But the Parliament may, by statute, sweep away every vestige of this liberty, if it will, and abolish the judiciary; and it may, furthermore, cause the removal of any judge either by impeachment or by address to the Crown.

I come now to consider the system of individual liberty provided in the Constitution of the United States.

From 1789 to 1860, the true theory was supposed to be that the Commonwealths were the defenders of individual liberty, and it was, in pursuance of that theory, that the first ten amendments were made

to the United States Constitution. But since 1860 the falseness of this theory has been perceived, and it has become clear that the Commonwealths—the so-called States—were not sufficient guarantors, so say the least, of individual liberty, and that the United States Government must be authorized to change its position from a passive non-infringer of individual liberty to an active defender of the same against the tyranny of the Commonwealths themselves. The thirteenth and fourteenth amendments express this change in the organic law.

The immunities guaranteed to the individual by the Constitution of the United States are of two kinds, "Immunities against the Central Government," "Immunities against the Commonwealths." The former may be again divided into "Personal Immunities," and "Immunities in respect to Private Property."

The personal immunities are prohibitions of bills of attainder and *ex post facto* laws, of general warrants, excessive bail, unreasonable delay in trial, excessive fines and cruel or unusual punishment: commands that the writ of habeas corpus shall be suspended in time of war only, that indictment shall be a requisite for prosecution of crime, that due process of law shall be preserved in a trial, that there shall be freedom of speech and of the press, freedom of assembly and of petitioning the government for the redress of grievances, freedom of religion and worship.

The immunities in respect to private property are that all bills for raising revenue must originate in the House of Representatives, that all appropriations of money must be made by law, that private property shall not be taken for public use without just compensation, that taxes shall not be imposed on exports from Commonwealths, that direct taxes shall be levied in proportion to the population, that the rate of taxation shall be uniform, that the general government shall not tax the necessary governmental instrumentalities of the Commonwealths, that there shall be no general search warrants, that in every suit where the value in controversy exceeds twenty dollars, there shall be a trial by jury, that a soldier shall not be quartered in any one's house in time of peace, and not in war except in a manner to be prescribed by law.

The "Immunities against the Commonwealths" can also be divided into "Personal Immunities" and "Immunities in regard to Private Property."

The Personal Immunities are that no "state" can pass any bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law, that slavery and involuntary servitude except as punishment for a crime are abolished, that no "state" can deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law, that no "state" can make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges and immunities of a citizen of the United States, and that the regulation of inter-commonwealth commerce and commerce with the Indian tribes is exclusively national.

The Immunities in regard to Private Property are inhibitions against levying import tonnage or port dues; against taxing the necessary instrumentalities of the general government, franchises conferred by it, and receipts of inter-commonwealth traffic; against making anything but gold and silver a legal tender; against impairing the obligation of contracts.

In the German Constitution there are no express exceptions on behalf of the individual against the powers of the general government, though some immunities are implied.

I pass over the subject of civil liberty in the constitutional law of England and France, for the simple reason that there is none in either. Upon this side of the Atlantic, constitutional law has made advances far beyond anything which has been accomplished upon the other side. For a clearly defined and well secured civil liberty—one which can defy government and still be subject to the state, one which can do far more for civilization upon many sides, and upon many of its finer sides, than the best ordered government which the world has ever produced—Europe must come to us and take lessons in the school of our experience.

I come now to consider the question of "Government." The conception of the forms of government is vitiated and the current nomenclature employed to give expression to the conception is rendered almost useless by the confusion of the ideas of state and government heretofore noticed. Keeping in mind the distinction between the two, as heretofore explained, government may be either immediate or representative, centralized or dual, hereditary or elective, presidential or parliamentary. The dual form may be either confederate or

federal. It is impossible to say which of these forms of government is, under all conditions, the best. The world manifests some dissatisfaction with both centralized and federalized government, and with both presidential and parliamentary government. It is a hazardous venture to prophesy what the form of the future will be. I do not think it chauvinistic, however, to say, that the governmental system of the United States seems to me to be many stages in advance of all the rest in the line of progress.

The result of a minute analysis of the legislative department of the four countries we have been considering seems to be this: In the English and French systems the legislature has all the powers not denied it by the State. Parliament may legislate upon *any* subject, and the French chambers may legislate upon any subject not otherwise ordered by the State. As between the United States and the German Empire, the latter is far less centralized in administration, but it is far more centralized in legislation. While the legislative power of the Imperial government extends much further than that of the Government of the United States, it is not, on the other hand, so exclusive, so far as the latter goes.

In regard to the executive of the four governments under consideration, a close comparison reveals the fact that the disharmony between the four lies more in the tenure of the executive and his relation to the legislature than in his powers. In all four, the chief executive powers, *viz*: diplomatic representation, commandship-in-chief of the armed forces, superintendence of the execution of the laws and appointment of the officials, are very nearly identical. The powers of the executive over legislation in the different systems, though differing in character, appear roughly equivalent in degree. Where a general veto power is lacking, some compensation seems to be afforded by the power to initiate legislation and to dissolve the legislature.

Finally, in regard to the judiciary, it may be said that, *apparently*, the ordinary judiciary has constitutional status only in the system of the United States. A little careful examination, however, will reveal the fact that this department, although nominally created by the constitution and vested by the constitution with the power of interpreting constitutional law as well as ordinary law, does not in reality occupy a greatly different position over against the legislative and executive departments from that which the judiciary might assert in the other systems under consideration. But the strength of the Supreme Court of the United States and its judiciary is founded on public opinion—upon the consciousness of the American people that law must rest upon justice and reason, that the constitution is a more ultimate formulation of the fundamental principles of justice and reason than mere legislative acts, and that the judiciary is a better interpreter of those fundamental principles than the legislature. This consciousness has been awakened and developed by the fact that the political education of the people has been directed by the jurists rather than by the warriors or the priests; and it is the reflex influence of this education that upholds and sustains, in the United States, the aristocracy of the robe. I do not hesitate to call the governmental system of the United States the aristocracy of the robe; and I do not hesitate to pronounce this the truest aristocracy, for the purpose of government, which the world has yet produced.

**A PLEA FOR LIBERTY.** An Argument against Socialism and Socialistic Legislation, Consisting of an Introduction by Herbert Spencer and Essays by various writers. Edited by Thomas Mackay, author of "The English Poor." 8vo, pp. 414. D. Appleton and Company: New York. 1891.

[The thirteen Essays, by as many different authors, collected in this volume, have a common purpose, as is indicated on the title-page. The Introduction and the first and second articles deal with theoretical aspects of the question. The other papers may be described as illustrative. In the epitome below the writers are named in the order in which they are placed in the book, and the title of the topic of each writer follows his name.]

**HERBERT SPENCER.** *From Freedom to Bondage.*—The more things improve, the louder become the exclamations about their badness. In presence of obvious improvements, joined with that increase of longevity which even alone yields conclusive proof of general amelioration, it is proclaimed, with increasing vehemence, that things are so bad that society must be pulled to pieces and reorganized on another plan. Socialist schemes are practicable only on the assumption that all concerned will judge rightly and act fairly—will think as they ought to think and act as they ought to act. The



Socialist makes this assumption regardless of the daily experiences which show him that men do neither the one nor the other, and forgetting that the complaints he makes against the existing system show his belief to be, that men have neither the wisdom nor the rectitude which his plan requires them to have. Socialism is to be resisted, not chiefly in the interests of the employing classes, but much more in the interests of the employed classes.

EDWARD STANLEY ROBERTSON. *The Impracticability of Socialism.*—There are inequalities and anomalies in the material world, some of which, like the obliquity of the ecliptic and the consequent inequality of the day's length, cannot be redressed at all. Of the triumph of Individualism over something which was virtually Socialism or Collectivism, though not called by that name, all history is a record. In early days, and even at this day under archaic civilization, the note of social life is the absence of freedom. Freedom is the most valuable of all human possessions next after life itself. It is more valuable, in a manner, than even health. No human agency can secure health; but good laws, justly administered, can and do secure freedom.

WORDSWORTH DONISTHORPE. *The Limits of Liberty.*—The only available method of discovering the true limits of liberty at any given period is the historic. The rules of conduct by which States should be guided are intelligible canons based on centuries of experience, very much like the rules by which our own private lines are guided; not absolutely trustworthy, but better than no general rules at all. The right course for the State to adopt towards its own citizens cannot be discovered by deduction from any abstract principles, such as Justice or Liberty; any more than individual morals can be deduced from some underlying law of Virtue.

GEORGE HOWELL. *Liberty for Labour.*—What labour wants most of all is liberty. Law, properly so called, should enter as little as possible into the domain of every-day life. In the privacies of ordinary life there is a limit which instinct seems to indicate as a kind of boundary line, beyond which legislation should not extend. The desire for legislative interference has grown to such a degree that it has become a passion. There is a clamour among some, for instance, for the passage of an Eight Hour Law. But such a law would be a serious infringement on the liberty of labour. We have too much law and too little justice.

CHARLES FAIRFIELD. *State Socialism in the Antipodes.*—In Australasia, democracies have given several years fair trial to certain measures of a Socialistic character, recommended in these days to our legislators at home, but, up to the present, almost solely on theoretical or abstract grounds. But impartial and careful observers have seen that the State Socialism has been kept alive only by applying for ever-recurring loans in Europe—on false pretenses. State Socialism to-day in the Antipodes seems to me to preach to willing disciples, the despicable gospel of shirking, laziness, mendicancy and moral cowardice.

EDMUND VINCENT. *The Discontent of the Working Classes.*—There is a discontent of grown men, which is useful to themselves and to civilization. But that discontent shows itself sometimes in our day in foolish ways. There is nothing in the nature of constant war between capital and labour, though there are frequent battles. There is almost a certain prospect of a sharp conflict all along the line. From it labour will emerge convinced that, on the whole, without capital, it is helpless, and capital with the knowledge, which, indeed, it possesses already, that labour cannot be trampled on lightly.

T. MACKAY. *Investment.*—The State cannot successfully perform the duty of investment for its members. State property is always ill-managed; it does not disappear automatically, when it becomes effete; and its universality would deprive citizens of the school of experience, where, more than anything else, their character acquires the due admixture of energy and self-control.

B. H. ALFORD. *Free Education.*—It is proposed to have in Great Britain, Free Education. That means, that it is proposed, in consideration of the poverty of some parents, to make all parents a present of the fees they have been accustomed to pay for their children in primary schools. This would be an entire subversion of the principle which has governed England hitherto. We have hitherto said to parents, that for the children they beget they must provide nutrition both of mind and body. Now it is proposed to say to parents, "nutrition of mind is exempted from your duties and converted into a State charge." But this cannot be the last breach in

personal responsibility. It is evident that nutrition of mind is correlated to nutrition of body, that the payment of school fees is a farce for the unfed, and foolishness for the half-clothed. The next step will be to establish free meals and free clothing for the behoof of all attending primary schools.

ARTHUR RAFFALOVICH. *The Housing of the Working Classes and of the Poor.*—One cannot, under any circumstances, ask the State to supply dwellings or food gratuitously, or under cost price, without doing an injustice to those who do not share in these favours and without risk of demoralizing the poorer classes. Nor is it at all necessary for the State to interfere. Enterprises at London, New York, Mulhouse and elsewhere show that the difficulties in the way of healthy and comfortable dwellings for the poor and wholesome workshops are being overcome gradually in the same way as other difficulties in the path of human progress have been overcome by the solvent power of free, human initiative.

FREDERICK MILLAR. *The Evils of State Trading as Illustrated by the Post-office.*—Although most people admit the superiority of private enterprise and administration to State-ownership and control, an exception is generally made in favour of one particular department—the Post-office—in which it is contended the State has succeeded as a trader. But the fact is that the monopoly enjoyed by the State in the carrying of letters is in itself a tacit acknowledgment of its inability to contend with private enterprise. Even now the most important part of the work, that of conveying the mails, is done by private enterprise. The effect of the monopoly is to make postage much dearer than it need be. It was calculated by Sir Rowland Hill that the cost of conveying a letter from one point in the United Kingdom to any other was one thirty-sixth of a penny. It has been shown conclusively that the total cost of conveying a letter from London to New Zealand is but a farthing. Yet for this service, which could be done at a handsome profit for a penny a letter, the State charges sixpence. The public could be just as well served at a much less cost, if letter-carrying was left to private enterprise.

M. D. O'BRIEN. *Free Libraries.*—It is only a small portion of the population which cares a fig for a free library. There is little doubt that at least forty-nine out of every fifty workingmen have no interest whatever in these institutions. If the fiftieth man may have his hobby paid for by the public, why not the other forty-nine? Free Libraries are typical examples of the compulsory co-operation everywhere gaining ground in this country. Like all State Socialism they are the negation of that liberty which is the goal of human progress. Every successful opposition to them is therefore a stroke for human advancement.

F. W. BEAUCHAMP GORDON. *The State and Electrical Distribution.*—The Electric Lighting Acts, which place the supply of electric energy in the hands of local authorities, in place of leaving it, with proper safeguards, of the public interests, to the care of private enterprise, are a dangerous precedent. Such acts threaten an almost indefinite extension in the same direction. Municipal bake-houses, municipal boot factories, every form of industrial operation developed into everybody's business in general and nobody's in particular—to what Utopian prosperity and happiness may we not yet attain.

THE HON. AUBERON HERBERT. *The True Line of Deliverance.*—Why are not our labourers better off? One reason, among others, is that capital is not produced fast enough or economically enough, one cause of which is the stupid struggles between capital and labour. The old Trade Unions had many faults, but greater and more dangerous are the faults of the New Unionism, with its crude doctrines of sheer force, constraint of anybody and everybody who stand in the way of the immediate end, limitation of numbers and excessive forces built up on monopoly, ingenious dovetailing of political action into Unionist action, universal federation with rigid centralization. If labourers are ever to be better off, Trade Unionists must give up attacking capital; leave capital to reduce its own reward which it will do most effectually by competition with itself, create for capital the most favourable atmosphere, disregard stories of excessive profit. There may be some men of rare powers who have built up great fortunes. Do not grudge such men a penny of their wealth. They are the true servants and helpers of us all.

If the views set forth in the foregoing essays are correct, it is very necessary that men should abandon the policy of indifference to what is going on in the way of State control, and that they should do something to enlarge the atmosphere of Liberty. This is to be accomplished, not by reckless and revolutionary methods, but rather by a resolute resistance to new encroachments, and by patient and statesmanlike endeavour to remove, wherever practicable, the restraints of regulation, and to give full play over a larger area to the creative forces of Liberty, for Liberty is the condition precedent to all solution of human difficulty.

## The Press.

### CANADIAN ELECTIONS.

#### A TRIUMPH FOR MACDONALD.

*Toronto Empire (Tory), March 6.*—The issue was momentous. The government was assailed with a bitterness almost unprecedented in our politics. By calling in foreign aid the opposition leaders lent themselves to a disgraceful attempt to subvert the independence of Canada and to overturn British rule on this continent. The plottings and schemings were worked out under the guise of a seductive commercial policy.

The electors were asked to believe that simply a business proposition was before them for acceptance or rejection, and most strenuous efforts were made, extending over several years, to catch the sympathy of the people and delude them into trusting the enemies of their country.

Canada gave her answer to this despicable movement yesterday, when it rejected the foreign plotters and their Canadian allies and sustained by a decisive majority the policy and administration which have made this country strong, prosperous, and self-respecting.

Canada's reply to annexationists and traitors, veiled and unveiled, is that she despises them and rejects their propositions with scorn, and that public men who associate themselves with treasonable intrigue need look for no quarter at the hands of an indignant electorate.

The government of Sir John Macdonald has been triumphantly vindicated in the face of the world. The policy of unrestricted reciprocity, or annexation, has received its quietus, and the old flag, old leader and old policy have received such an endorsement from the electors of Canada as to sweep into oblivion their detractors and foes.

#### THE PASSING OF THE "WIMAN FAD."

*Toronto World (Tory), March 6.*—A number of border counties of Ontario have defeated the government candidates, and to this extent the annexationists may claim some gains. Otherwise the opposition has little to boast of, as before another session is over Sir John will have a majority of forty at least.

Before another general election is held the Wiman fad will have passed away forever. The net result of the campaign is, that Canada's loyalty has been vindicated, disruptionists and annexationists have met with little encouragement, and that the old man will continue to do business at the old stand with nearly the same majority.

#### Nobody Entirely Happy.

*Toronto Mail (Ind.), March 6.*—Taking the election as a whole, it will be a disappointment to both sides. To the Liberals, because the headway they have made in Ontario and Quebec has been nullified by the action of the electorate elsewhere, and to the Government, because it did not sweep the country. The Ministerialists, however, should be well pleased that they have got off so well. Unbiased reports from various constituencies during the later days of the campaign certainly pointed to an impending rout.

#### THE ADMINISTRATION CANNOT SURVIVE.

*Toronto Globe (Lib.), March 6.*—The prospect before the government is not an inviting one. It has been terribly weakened at the polls. The Premier's reckless speeches have destroyed any hope of its obtaining any relaxation of the United States tariff in our behalf, and have created an irritation in the minds of our neighbors which may produce evil fruit for us before long. Every branch of industry is prostrated, and without much exaggeration, agriculture, the foundation stone of all, may be said to be nearing its last gasp. Under these conditions the administration cannot possibly survive. But the Liberals are by no means eager to assume control. The responsibilities

and dangers of the situation are so imminent and so great that, were it not their bounden duty to save the country if they can, they would be well content to let the Tories rule until the deluge arrives.

#### ENGLAND LOVES HER LOYAL DAUGHTER.

*St. James's Gazette, London, March 6.*—It is a source of pride and pleasure to Englishmen to note the response made to the annexation cry. Though England may sometimes be proud of the progress made by Anglo-Saxon America, she has more fondness for the fair young daughter of the Empire adhering to the old flag.

#### THE MOST GRATIFYING FEATURE.

*London Globe, March 6.*—The Canadian Government now has a free hand and can conclude the negotiations with the United States which were pending before the elections, and the most gratifying feature is the protest against annexation.

#### SPICY CORRESPONDENCE.

*New York Tribune (News Department), March 7.*—Mr. Wiman's views on the result of the Canadian elections cannot be better expressed than by the answer sent to the following sarcastic telegram from Richard White, a Tory newspaper man of Montreal. Mr. White has exhausted the Canadian vocabulary of bad words on Mr. Wiman's devoted head during the campaign, and yesterday telegraphed him:

Montreal, Quebec, March 6.

To Erastus Wiman, New York.

Have you heard from Canada? We are feeling very happy. RICHARD WHITE.

At Mr. Wiman's direction his private secretary wrote out and sent over the wire the following dispatch:

To Richard White, Gazette Office, Montreal:

Only the truly good could be happy under such adversity. As the Duke of Wellington said at Waterloo "the butcher's bill is large." Two Ministers killed, the survivors desperately wounded, and the majority cut down at least one-half. I congratulate you on feeling jolly and coming out strong, under the circumstances. ERASTUS WIMAN.

#### THE INTEREST MAINLY PERSONAL.

*New York Times (Ind.), March 7.*—In spite of all the talk about "issues," well founded though that talk may be, the interest of the Canadian election is mainly personal, and centres in the picturesque and now venerable figure of Sir John Macdonald. He is really the only Canadian politician whose personality has made a distinct impression beyond the limits of the Dominion. Even among those who oppose Sir John's policy and believe that it is injurious alike to the material and to the moral interests of Canada, there is a sneaking kindness for him and a human desire to "give the old man a chance." Doubtless this feeling is stronger within Canada than without, and doubtless it is answerable for many of the twenty-odd seats by which the veteran Premier will hold the majority of the next Parliament. The result of the election in the Provinces immediately concerned tends to show that the farmers are alive to their own interests and are not to be frightened out of pursuing the same by being called "annexationists" or any other hard name. In Ontario and Quebec, Sir John Macdonald has decidedly lost, while he has either gained or held his own in the maritime provinces and in the Northwest. In the maritime provinces the question of the fisheries is of the first importance, and it must be owned that the Tory Administration has handled this question as skillfully in the interest of the maritime provinces as could be expected. In the Northwest the question of reciprocity is not practical, and the voters of that region can vote hatred of the Yankees with as little fear as a representative from Kansas shows when he engages in twisting the tail of the British

lion, while at the same time refusing to vote any appropriations for the defense of the seacoast. The upshot of the Canadian election is that Sir John Macdonald retains his Premiership by a considerably reduced, but still sufficient and trustworthy majority, and that his hold upon office is not likely to be relaxed until the appearance in Canadian politics of "a stronger than he," and there are as yet no signs of this phenomenon.

#### PRACTICAL DEFEAT OF SIR JOHN.

*New York Evening Post (Ind.), March 6.*—The Canadian elections have resulted in a practical defeat of Sir John Macdonald and the Conservative party. Although they have secured a numerical majority, they have met very serious losses. This result does not, we think, betoken any near approach to annexation, but it does betoken the early breakdown of protectionism in the Dominion. The pretence put forward by Sir John that the Dominion would lose the power of self-control under reciprocity with the United States has been decidedly rebuked. The contest has attracted little attention on this side of the line—much less, indeed, than in England—but the result will be satisfactory as showing that the trend of ideas in reference to that venerable fraud and gigantic humbug called protection is the same in Canada as in the United States.

#### TO BE DEPLORED.

*Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette (Rep.), March 6.*—Had Newfoundland been part of the Dominion its solid Liberal vote would have carried the day for the Liberal party. The issue was fairly and openly reciprocity with the United States. By the defeat of the Liberal party the establishment of a commercial union between this country and Canada is not likely to occur for several years at least. The Conservative party has taken a new lease of power and it will not present proposals for reciprocity, and without them this country cannot enter into negotiations. Had the Liberal party been successful it would have assumed control of the Government, and at once made proposals for reciprocity, when a treaty would have been agreed upon before summer. The result of the election is to be deplored.

#### WILL MACDONALD SEEK A TREATY?

*New York Herald (Ind. Dem.), March 7.*—It was reckless and dangerous for Sir John to stake everything on the issue of loyalty or disloyalty to the English connection unless he was certain of an overwhelming majority for loyalty. A close vote should be as disastrous as defeat on that issue. Governor Tilden used to say that in a sharply contested canvass by the "outs" against the "ins" the former should start with at least two-thirds of the voters, or defeat would be inevitable, so great was the power of a government. In a close Canadian contest even the Canadian Pacific Railway should be able to turn the scale. Of course all those in Canada who wish offices, or subsidies, or to be made knights or baronets, must "rally round the flag." A shrewd Canadian has said that Canadian exploiters and promoters of business schemes will stand by the English connection so long as by it they can more easily and cheaply borrow money in London or Amsterdam. If the Vanderbilt New York Central railway system were not such a friable combination of bric-a-brac, when in the hands of a hostile Legislature and Governor at Albany, and the management of that railway were to take the risk, and make the effort, it might decide "just once" a close electoral contest in the State of New York. The Canadian Pacific ought to be able to do as much in Canada!

In the last Parliament of 213 members, the Macdonald-Tupper Tory combination had a clear majority of 51. To overcome that majority the free trade Liberals had a severe task. They have not overcome it, but have reduced it very materially.

Now that the result has been ascertained will



Macdonald and Tupper straightway start for Washington, as they have promised, and conclude a reciprocity treaty with Mr. Blaine? What sort of a thing will it be? We shall see!

#### A NEARLY EQUAL DIVISION.

*Pittsburgh Dispatch (Rep.), March 6.*—After weeks of excitement, Canada's elections passed off quietly yesterday, and the troops that were said to be ready to guard the polls were conspicuous by their absence. Throughout the whole campaign its resemblance to the United States article was noticed. This resemblance was principally in the bitterness with which the leaders caused each other to be attacked, charges of fraud, intimidation of voters, etc., having been bandied about with great freedom. The charge of treason to the British Crown was also made early in the campaign, and was reiterated at every opportunity; but, like his fellow across the border, the Canadian voter seemed to be but slightly affected by the rabid utterances of political organs, and deposited his ballot in accordance with self-arrived-at convictions. The reports of the election indicate that Canadians are about equally divided on the question of high tariff and reciprocity, with the advantage slightly in favor of the former at present. This result means the return of Sir John Macdonald to power, and the failure of the plans for commercial union between the countries; but by its closeness it also shows that public sentiment in the Dominion is veering around to reciprocity as desired by the Liberals.

#### A PROTEST AGAINST THE RESTRICTIVE POLICY.

*Philadelphia Times (Ind.), March 6.*—The Parliamentary campaign just closed in Canada has been one of the most earnest and most interesting in the history of the Dominion. The Liberals made their fight upon the distinct issue of freer commercial intercourse with the United States, while the Tory position has been that of an extreme nationalism. It is the McKinley policy exaggerated—a general policy of isolation and commercial hostility—and all who oppose this antiquated restriction have been accused of disloyalty to Canada and treason to the Crown.

The sentimental aspect of the issue has been pressed to such an extreme that the whole Liberal party has been represented as desiring, if not plotting, immediate annexation to the United States. In view of the strength developed by the Liberals at yesterday's elections we should be justified, by the Tories' own declaration, in assuming that a very large proportion of the people of the Dominion are ready to transfer their allegiance.

The growing Liberal strength does not necessarily mean this. It does mean a recognition of the close community of interest between the two countries—a community of interest very much closer than that of Canada with England—and an impatience of the narrow, restrictive policy by which the people are burdened and harassed. It is the same sentiment that triumphed in our own recent election, and that must continue to draw Canada and the United States closer together, in spite of artificial boundaries, whether their union be accomplished in our time or not.

#### PROGRESS OF THE BLAINE IDEA.

*New York Recorder (Ind.), March 7.*—"The American Disraeli" has won a Pyrrhic victory. His escape from defeat is so narrow that his adversaries have a color of claim to a moral triumph. Even the Conservative journals of the Dominion confess apprehension that with so small a majority in Parliament the Premier will not be able to carry on the government. Sir John A. Macdonald, however, resembles his prototype, Beaconsfield, in nothing more closely than in tenacity. He is not at all likely to permanently surrender the reins of power until actually voted out of office. There is no sufficient ground for the opinion that the opposition will be called on by the Governor-General to take control.

The broad idea of Blaine has nevertheless

made a tremendous stride in the first American country in which it has been submitted to a verdict of the people. The policy of our Secretary of State has at once grown from national to continental. Its spirit will still go marching on, and some surprising revolution in the popular mind will be necessary to prevent its complete triumph in the near future.

It is clear that the Conservatives saved themselves, for the time being, only by the daring and lavish use of the machinery of power. Money was spent in great profusion, patronage was distributed broadcast and promises were given in all directions. The last official reserves were brought into action, and the Conservative forces of religion and order were driven to do radical and, perhaps, unseemly work. Any Ministry which Sir John may form will go into office loaded down with heavy mortgages. When they come to be foreclosed then will be the strain upon the cohesion of the new Cabinet.

#### ANNEXATION STILL AFAR OFF.

*Syracuse Standard (Rep.), March 6.*—The result of the Canadian election yesterday will probably be hailed by the Liberals as a substantial triumph over the Conservatives, and a presage of the early declaration by the Dominion of its desire for the establishment of reciprocal relations with the United States. We cannot help thinking, nevertheless, that the loyal sentiment of our northern neighbors has withstood with splendid vigor the terrible shock to which it has been subjected. Somehow or other the defeat of the Liberals, with whom sympathy must naturally be, on this side of the lakes, leaves the impression that the annexation era is afar off. The assailing forces may not again be so valiantly rallied against the Government, which, guided by so astute and resourceful a leader as Sir John Macdonald, is apt to shape a policy to steal the thunder of the commercial unionists. Unquestionably Sir John stands head and shoulders above the most conspicuous figures in the politics of the Canadas, and the election, though it leaves his party a narrow margin, demonstrates his surprising strength.

This is not saying, however, that in the end commercial union, if not annexation, will be the destiny of the Dominion. It is, however, more in other signs of the times than in the election yesterday, that this revolution is discerned as a probability.

#### INDIFFERENCE OF THE UNITED STATES.

*Philadelphia Ledger (Ind.), March 6.*—The Canadian election yesterday closed an exciting campaign in which each party resorted to misrepresentations of the United States that may have fooled Canadian voters, but look very silly on this side of the border. The Liberals, according to fair inferences from their campaign papers, intend to repeal the agricultural sections of the McKinley Tariff Bill if they should be elected, but the Tories intend to preserve their beloved land from annexation to the United States, which is described as an "awful destiny." If the Canadians wait for this awful destiny until it is brought about by the people of the United States they will enjoy their existing political relations for a very long while. Ever since Disraeli discovered that the Dominion was a greater country than the United States, the Canadians have had such an exalted opinion of their resources that they have naturally supposed themselves to be objects of envy. But now that the election is over they may recover sufficient reason to observe that the United States does not care a picayune who they elect to Parliament, or what they do, as long as they behave themselves, as good neighbors should, in Bering Sea and on the banks of Newfoundland.

#### A DRAWN BATTLE.

*Cleveland Leader (Rep.), March 7.*—The great electoral contest in Canada resulted in a drawn battle. Sir John Macdonald and the Conservatives are returned to power, but by a majority reduced from forty-nine to about twenty or

less. The Liberals have been defeated, but they have gained fifteen seats or more, a complete vindication from the frantic charges of "treason" made by the Government organs and leaders, and an encouragement to continue the fight on the lines laid down in the late campaign. Though the practical fruits of victory are with the Conservatives for the moment, the Liberals have large gains to console them for defeat, while the triumph of Sir John and his advisers is chastened by the contemplation of severe losses.

Thus it stands between the two Canadian parties, but with respect to the great issue over which they contended, the principle of commercial union, or unrestricted reciprocity as it is sometimes called, meaning one tariff for both countries against all the rest of the world, and free trade between themselves, has won a very important victory. More than one-half of the Canadian electors, with their eyes wide open as to what it implies, voted for commercial union. They knew that, if adopted, it meant discrimination against Great Britain and in favor of the United States with respect to many products. They knew that it meant drawing so far away from Great Britain that separation would in time be inevitable, and so close to the United States as to amount to commercial annexation, with political annexation a growing probability. But in spite of the waving of the "old flag," and of eloquent appeals to their "loyalty," nearly one-half of the Canadian electors voted for that very thing.

#### NOT TO BE COERCED.

*Charleston News and Courier (Dem.), March 7.*—The determination of the people of Canada, as expressed by their votes on Thursday last, is in substance that they will not be coerced into annexation to the United States by the McKinley Act or any similar measure calculated to injure the prosperity of the Dominion, by enforcing non-intercourse in matters of trade, between that country and the United States. Sir John Macdonald's victory, in other words, means that the people of Canada, at least a very decided majority of them, if forced to decide between becoming a part of the United States and having nothing to do with the United States, would prefer the latter alternative.

#### RECIPROCITY SUBSTANTIALLY INDORSED.

*Detroit Tribune (Rep.), March 7.*—The result of Thursday's election in Canada discounted nearly all of the prophecies. Sir John Macdonald is both victor and vanquished, for he has gained a temporary triumph accompanied by emphatic notice from the people that the policy which he represents is doomed. By the enormous weight of official power, he has secured a slender majority in Parliament in the face of a substantial popular majority for a policy of unlimited reciprocity with the United States, towards which he and his party are distinctly hostile.

#### THE YEAR FOR REACTIONARY INFLUENCES.

*Boston Journal (Rep.), March 6.*—Advices at this hour indicate that Sir John Macdonald has again triumphed in Canada, and that the Conservatives will continue to control the Canadian Parliament. Loyalty to the British Crown and defiance to the Yankees has proved a taking battle cry, and the Liberals have overestimated the strength of reciprocity with the Canadian people. The result will be heard with no little surprise on this side of the line, where we had been generally led to expect a Liberal victory. But the successes of the Bourbon party in the United States last November are fitly matched by the successes of the Bourbon party in the Dominion. It seems to be a great year for reactionary influences everywhere. It will be a great disappointment to Mr. Sherman, Mr. Butterworth and other earnest and able advocates of commercial union. Mr. Blaine voiced the sentiment of the American people when he said that he wanted no reciprocity in natural products; it must be unrestricted reciprocity



or none. Unrestricted reciprocity was the issue upon which the Liberals made their canvass. Their defeat obliterates Canadian reciprocity as a live factor in our politics. The eyes of the nation must turn with increased interest and hope to the perfectly feasible and inviting reciprocity with our neighbors to the southward.

#### THE OUTCOME.

*Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), March 7.*—Sir John Macdonald has carried the day in the Dominion of Canada, which is to say, the voters of the Dominion have reaffirmed their approval of the doctrine of protection to home industries. It is true that those "unlimited reciprocity" men, who mean all that the words imply, are as truly protectionist as Sir John himself; Mr. Erastus Wiman is the most notable type of such men. But the great multitude of the Canadian politicians who talked of unlimited reciprocity juggled with the words; they were free traders who intended to make offer to the United States of unlimited reciprocity without identical tariff conditions, knowing that this offer would not be acceptable to the Republic, and, further, intending to legislate towards free trade under pretence of a need for enlarged foreign markets, which could not be gained in the United States. Mr. Erastus Wiman and his followers are desirous of full reciprocity and uniform tariff conditions, but they as yet are a minority of the Liberal party in Canada. Moreover, Sir John, with more shrewdness than candor, classed the whole body of the opposition to him with British free traders. Canada will continue to enjoy protection, and continue to learn the need of complete commercial union with the United States.

#### REGARDING DISFRANCHISEMENT.

*Wives and Daughters, London, Ontario, March.*—During the present excitement, when the political blood of Reformers and Conservatives is approaching uncomfortably close to fever heat, the bitterest accusation made by one party against the other is that, owing to neglect in reprinting the voters' lists, a large number of young men, who have recently attained their majority, are disfranchised. To be deprived of a vote is rightly considered one of the greatest wrongs adult humanity can suffer.

But there is another class of people, numbering as many as both political parties together, who have suffered the gross injustice of disfranchisement time out of mind. They are not at all a bad class of people. They are first in the Sunday-school and last in the jail. You hardly ever see them engage in a street fight, or receive dishonorable mention in the public press for being drunk and disorderly. It is said that they are prejudiced against the sale and consumption of strong drink. Though they make no laws they are by far the most law-abiding class. They differ from the disfranchised young men above referred to in this important particular, that, whereas many of them are "sowing their wild oats," and are consequently unfit to cast their votes in the wisest direction, the possibility of engaging in such a proceeding has never occurred to the largest, the least iniquitous, and the most actively beneficent class of disfranchised people on earth.

#### AN ANTE-ELECTION EXPRESSION.

*Manitoba Free Press (Ind. Lib.), Winnipeg, March 5.*—Every day is demonstrating more clearly that a feeling of genuine alarm has taken possession of many of the most reflecting in the ranks of the Liberal party. From the Atlantic coast up, men are coming out of that party, for this election at least, because of the policy of unrestricted reciprocity. Whether their fears are justified or not it would be presumptuous for us to say. The party leaders disclaim any thought of annexation, which we can well believe; they also maintain that the policy they advocate is not calculated to create or promote a tendency towards annexation, which is not so certain. Men who have no

sympathy whatever for that super-loyalty which becomes frenzied over the old flag, whether in genuine sincerity or as an artful expedient for catching votes, are so fearful of the ultimate influences of unrestricted reciprocity that they turn from it in distrust. Men who have been Liberals all their lives, men who are Liberals through a conviction based on the keenest judgment and highest intelligence, men who are free traders and who would vote day and night if they could against protection and other trade restriction, are afraid of unrestricted reciprocity and refuse to approve of it. That feeling of alarm has extended to Winnipeg and Manitoba generally. Here we would be glad to have more liberal trade relations with our neighbors; we would be glad to have free trade itself; but we do not want annexation. Rather than that we would a thousand times prefer to endure the present restrictions. Unrestricted reciprocity with the United States involves discrimination against Great Britain. Even that might not endanger the tie that binds us to England; but many are afraid that it would, and because of that fear they are opposing the new policy.

#### AN AFTER-ELECTION ADDRESS.

*Sir Richard Cartwright to his Constituents, South Oxford, March 9.*—Although the result of the contest is not in all respects such as I could have desired, enough has been achieved to justify high hopes for the future, and to amply warrant my prediction that at the very worst, all that the Liberal party had to fear was a temporary check. For the first time since 1874 we have gained the two central provinces of this Dominion, and we have gained them on a clear and distinct issue, in the teeth of an absolutely unlimited expenditure of money, and of every other engine of corruption which a reckless and utterly unscrupulous administration was able to bring to bear. Our opponents' array, on the other hand, is most literally a thing of shreds and patches, made up of ragged remnants from half a dozen minor provinces, a great majority of whom do not even pretend to be actuated by any principle save that of securing a good slice of booty for themselves and the sections or constituencies they respectively represent.

Not even Sir John Macdonald's most abject worshippers can fail to see that he has blundered terribly in many ways and most of all in his dealings with the United States, and that he has led his followers into a *cul de sac* out of which there is no escape save through such a series of pitiful and probably useless humiliations as even his lust for place and power at all hazards and at any sacrifices can scarcely tempt him to undergo.

For my own part, I see very strong reason for believing that the end is near, and even very near, and that, humanly speaking, nothing can prevent the success of the Liberal party save only dissension in its own ranks, of which, as matters now stand, I am happy to be able to assure you there appears to be no danger, so far, at any rate, as its parliamentary representatives are concerned.

### POLITICAL.

#### THE SUBSIDY BILL.

*Minneapolis Journal (Ind.), March 3.*—Judging from the outline of the amended shipping bill telegraphed from Washington, the objectionable direct subsidy principle, for the delectation of a single class, has been very properly abandoned for a process more nearly resembling the English system of government postal contracts with home-built vessel owners. The postoffice department contracts with the lowest responsible bidder for the transportation of mails in vessels of specified tonnage and speed. The money is to be paid for the public service, and not to a select group of ship builders, who, by copious saturation with treasury cash, can run their ships empty on the high seas, if they see fit. The principle adopted is far more likely to increase the tonnage of goods in foreign

trade carried in American bottoms. At present the percentage of our foreign trade done in American vessels has dwindled down to less than 12 per cent. With the stimulus of liberal sea postages and the ordinary efforts of wide-awake business men to secure the vast trade within reach, there is no reason that, with a persistent development of a practical reciprocity policy, there should not, within a year or two, be a great change for the better in our foreign commerce. It must be remembered, however, that it is a great delusion to believe that foreign trade is built up by subsidizing ship owners or even by paying liberally for mail service. These will count but little without intelligent movements to secure trade. The *Journal* has opposed the heavy, direct subsidy principle for very substantial and correct business reasons. It is not a good business principle to try to build up foreign trade by giving people money to build ships, and run them empty or full at a profit to themselves. France has tried that plan for ten years and presents a record of failure, demonstrating that ships accommodate but do not create commerce. And this is a lesson which a good many Americans have yet to learn.

#### THE ANNUAL ENGLISH WAR SCARE.

*Senator Ingalls, in Truth, New York, March 5.*—The annual shriek about our defenseless coasts, and the bombardment of New York, Philadelphia and Boston has been emitted. The editorial estimates in the metropolitan press of the amount of property within reach of an Italian ironclad in the lower bay, and of the ransom that could be extorted from the merchants and bankers, have all been submitted and are filed away for use again in 1892. Their purpose is to reconcile the people to the passage of the Naval Appropriation Bill, and to enormous and profligate expenditures in time of peace, for ships, fortifications and munitions of war. The capacity of the United States to create a navy in an emergency was demonstrated in the Rebellion. Possessing at the outset neither material, ammunition, armaments nor supplies for construction, we were required to maintain, and did maintain, an effective blockade of 3,600 miles of coast with 190 harbor entrances, to patrol the ocean and to keep the Mississippi open for navigation to the Gulf.

The duel between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac*, in Hampton Roads, revolutionized naval warfare, and the problem has since been to construct armor that no projectile could penetrate, and then to invent projectiles that no armor could resist. European nations have been conducting these expensive experiments hitherto, and the ships of 1880 are already obsolete and antiquated for attack or defense. Dynamite and other explosives complicate the situation, and the navy that we are now building at a cost of \$50,000,000 will soon be as worthless as Roman galleys. England, France and Italy would gladly sell us their fleets at fifty per cent. of their cost. The inefficiency of a navy for naval defense in case of war, appears from the fact that England, France, Denmark and Spain have naval stations upon islands off the coast of Florida, so situated that from the curvature of our shores, any of our seaports and maritime cities, from New Orleans to Portland, can be reached in four days by a hostile fleet. If we are to depend upon a navy for protection we must have ships enough to assemble at every vulnerable point a force as large as could be dispatched against it. Our money had better be spent for earthworks and powerful guns to command every roadstead, channel, and harbor from which a hostile fleet could threaten or assail.

Our policy is pacific. We have no colonies nor dependencies, nor entangling alliances. Our relations with France are those of traditional amity; with Germany, of kinship and consanguinity; with Russia, of fraternity. The rest are trivial. *Our only enemy is England, and she is under bonds to keep the peace. No other nation is so vulnerable, and none so detested. She has incurred the resentment of the human race by centuries of injustice.*



In our Civil War, England did all she could, short of open hostility, to destroy the Union, and then apologized and paid damages. Lately we have had another contention about seal poaching and the Bering Sea. Oceans of ink have been shed in diplomatic correspondence between Lord Salisbury and Secretary Blaine. Great Britain fortified Vancouver, and sent ships of war into the disputed waters, walking around, metaphorically speaking, begging us to knock the chip from her shoulder, or to tread on the tails of her coat. Legally she had an open case at least; in some respects the best of the argument. A *casus belli* could easily have been found, if wanted, and we were assured that the danger was imminent. The boldest held his breath for a while. Immense appropriations were promptly voted for fortifications and the navy, and then, while the national hair was standing on end, England suddenly came into our Supreme Court as a suitor, and submitted the whole controversy to the decision of that great tribunal.

#### TIMELY GUBERNATORIAL REMARKS.

*New York Sun (Dem.), March 8.*—The interesting correspondence which has been going on between Governor Hill of New York and ex-Governor Bulkeley of Connecticut concerning the extradition of persons demanded by the latter, as a holdover awaiting his lawfully chosen successor, has been replete with profit and instruction to those who study the legal phases of constitutional controversy. On the one side, Governor Hill in seeking to sustain, in true Democratic fashion, the inalienable right of the citizens of every American constituency to choose their own public servants, has been, with vigor and earnestness, upholding majority rule. On his side, ex-Governor Bulkeley has by the exigencies of the case been compelled to lend his quasi-official support to the iniquitous abuses perpetuated alike in New York and in Connecticut by the Republicans—unjust or deferred numeration, inequitable apportionment, and consequent minority rule. But through the whole interchange of hostilities, one declaration seems strangely lacking, which might throw a flood of light upon the question.

On the memorable historical occasion when the Governor of North Carolina, in conversation with the Governor of South Carolina, remarked to the latter that the period of time between drinks had been unduly prolonged, a form of invitation, still popular in those parts of the South where whiskey toddies and mint juleps are still appreciated, was established and has since endured.

What if the Governor of New York had been able to say briefly to the Governor of Connecticut that, where the people of a State had designated another person as his successor, the time for surrendering the post was opportune? How much better that would be, did civility and precedent allow!

And how much better, too, it would be to both parties concerned, if the Governor of Connecticut, in writing to the Governor of New York, could reiterate and concur in the view entertained so generally by the Democrats of this State that the holding, simultaneously, of two offices by one person is incompatible with the teachings, traditions and uses of true Democracy.

#### REPUBLICAN STRATEGY.

*New York Recorder (Ind.), March 10.*—The Congress that has just closed has left to its successor a legacy of embarrassments and difficulties.

First of all, there is the silver question. What the Republicans have done is just enough to pass for compliance with the extremely clever plank of the Chicago platform, but not sufficient to cause grave financial disturbance or to inspire distrust among conservative business men. Indeed, as the record stands, the solid commercial and industrial interests of the United States are apparently under obligations to the Republican majority in Congress for having saved them from great

disaster. The close of the Fifty-first Congress leaves the country in a financially safe position, with a new Secretary of the Treasury committed to the full execution of existing laws, but firmly pledged against dangerous innovations.

Between Cleveland's hard money letter, backed by the sentiment of the East, especially New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Massachusetts, on the one hand, and the silver record of the Democrats in the Senate and House on the other, the leaders of the House of Representatives next Winter will have before them a task in political navigation to which steering between Scylla and Charybdis would be child's play.

Not less dangerous to the Democracy than the currency legacy, is the Republican bequest of revenue problems. The surplus has been obliterated. That is now admitted by the Administration organs. Appropriations must be made adequate to legitimate public needs. The demand for pensions and for other branches of the service will not diminish. But existing laws will not supply sufficient funds if the scale of expenditures of the late Congress be continued by the new. Appropriations must be pruned or taxes increased. The former course would involve the abandonment of great projects for naval construction and coast defense, while the latter method would falsify all the claims and pretensions of the Democracy as a party of frugality and economy. Regarding this branch of the dilemma it is safe to predict that the Democratic House will not increase the taxes, but will, in so far as may be necessary to keep expenditures within the limit of receipts, return to the policy of Randall. If the Democratic managers pass the ordeal of the next Congressional session without disaster they will prove themselves statesmen of the first rank. The "billion Congress" has certainly exhibited masterly strategy in transferring to its opponents the heaviest political burdens of the time.

#### FOREIGN.

##### THE GERMAN NAVY.

*New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, March 9.*—Since the Parisian journey of the "Empress with the olive branch," a new epoch of the "new era" has been unmistakably unfolding itself behind the scenes on the German political stage, while a very interesting little one-act piece has been performed in front, which was evidently designed to react powerfully on the larger play. The openly played one-act piece was entitled "The German Navy," and had for its principal characters, a longing, enthusiastic, high-flying government, and a doggedly immovable and calculating opposition. The piece closes with the scarcely concealed defeat of the government and the triumph of realism over idealism.

The play opens with the presentation of a scheme developed by Vice Admiral Hollman for raising Germany to a naval power of the first rank, but in spite of the Emperor's advocacy of the measure, and his appeal to Germany to follow where he led, the opposition was immovable.

Windthorst announced openly that the centre was united in its determination to resist the government demands, for there was "no money this year."

Windthorst would not have taken so decided a stand had he not been quite sure that the country was with him, but the fact is, the German people long earnestly for peace, and are averse to any increased expenditure for military purposes, well knowing from past experience that it will only serve to incite the foe to corresponding efforts.

The assurances of peace simultaneously announced by the government, and the certainty of the support of the great Maritime Powers, which it says it can rely on, would appear to render the proposed outlay unnecessary. But alas, the fact that all these assurances rest on sand, renders the position of the German government tragic and full of contradictions. The little one-act piece becomes a drama.

##### SIBERIA.

*New-Yorker Volkszeitung, March 9.*—An extraordinary rumor comes from Russia. The *Moscow Times* reports that a project of doing away with the system of administrative exile to Siberia, is being discussed in Russian Court circles.

One naturally looks with mistrust on any rumor emanating from Russia; but assuming what is not improbable, that the rumored measure is under contemplation, it would be a great mistake to attribute it to any awakening of humanitarian sentiment, or any deference to the public opinion of the civilized world. The reform must come as the consequence of the material development of Siberia, which, on the approaching completion of the railway, will be brought into intercourse with the rest of the world. Under the conditions thus induced, Siberia can no longer be made the dumping ground for the victims of Russian tyranny; the facilities of railway transportation render the cost of supervision of the political exiles more costly from year to year.

##### POLICY OF THE ITALIAN CABINET.

*Il Diritto, Rome, Feb. 16.*—The new Italian Cabinet, while it must give its first attention to regulating the economic and financial situation of the country, cannot help seeing that it ought to determine to leave the treaties of alliance as they are, but to give them an interpretation very, very different from that adopted by Signor Crispi towards France. For this reason we anticipate the positive and loyal disavowal of every aggressive construction of those treaties.

It is useless for the mouthpieces of the dictator to undertake to demonstrate that nothing is changed in the foreign policy of Italy. We are convinced that there has been not only a change, but a serious and profound one. As an evidence of this, it is sufficient to point out the alteration in the atmosphere round the new Cabinet. Most significant is the fact, that despite certain remarks made by the President of the Council during the sitting of the Chamber yesterday, the difference between this Cabinet and its predecessor is that in the latter, one could not risk uttering the name of France, without manifestations of bad feeling towards her; now it is permissible to admit that a conciliation between Paris and Rome is desirable, a goal which each country ought to strive to reach, and an endeavor to reach which is the merit of an honest man.

Without doubt, the policy of the triple alliance, as it has been applied in these last years in Italy, is in direct contradiction to our economic needs and to good relations with France. It is mathematically certain, that it has been this policy, as interpreted by the Crispi-Depretis Cabinet and that of Crispi, which is the cause of the absurd customs and commercial war with France, and of our financial disorders, and also the cause of the constant increase of our annual armaments, as if we ought to think for a moment of undertaking a campaign in order to support the military preponderance of Germany in Europe.

##### WHY MR. PARNELL REMAINED.

*The Tablet (Cath.), London, Feb. 28.*—Mr. Parnell addressed a large gathering of his supporters at Roscommon on Sunday, and, as usual, seems to have excited great enthusiasm. As usual also he never made even the most distant allusion to the conduct which brought about his own rupture with the Liberal party in England, and divided the Nationalists in Ireland. The revelations of the Divorce Court and the condemnation of the Bishops were alike ignored, and Mr. Parnell spoke as though, of his own initiative, he had broken off his relations with Mr. Gladstone because he was not satisfied with the sort of Home Rule to be conceded. He told the men of Roscommon that he would have waived all personal claims and gone back into private life at the bidding of the English Liberals if only he could have felt that he was leaving the cause in hands which would know how to guard it. He had to look round



and see who was likely to be his successor. He found that the choice of the majority of the party would probably fall upon Mr. Justin McCarthy, "a gentleman of great amiability of character, but not with much practical acquaintance with the wants of Ireland." The risk was too great, so for his country's sake Mr. Parnell felt he must remain.

#### THE AUSTRALIAN FEDERATION CONVENTION.

*Chicago Herald, March 8.*—Although the federation convention sitting in Sydney is not called avowedly to declare the independence of the Australian colonies, it is inevitable that the moral effect of its deliberations will make for separation, democracy and independence. Instincts of kinship, interests of commerce, conviction that the destiny of the colonies can best be guarded and promoted by mutual compacts, combine with irritation over protracted delay and indifference in imperial administration to inspire the Australians with desire for federation substantially foreshadowing independence. Unlike Canada, Australia has never been permeated with excessive or snobbish "loyalty." The Crown, with its bizarre traditions, is far less real to the enterprising people of the South Pacific than the houses of Parliament sitting in another world, undertaking to transact their business and transacting it, if at all, solely in the interest of England. The mass of the Australian people are tired of antiquated machinery whose clumsiness, slowness and expense represent little for them except taxes and delay.

#### SOCIAL TOPICS.

##### NEW METHODS MUST BE ADOPTED.

*Journal of the Knights of Labor, Philadelphia, March 5.*—The concentration of large moneyed interests is going on as rapidly in England as in the United States. It is announced by cable that the Employers' Labor Association of Liverpool, representing shipping of 750,000 tonnage and comprising all the leading ship-owners, has joined the English Shipping Federation. The latter body now includes the owners of vessels having an aggregate of seven million tonnage, leaving in the United Kingdom only two million tonnage not embraced in this gigantic organization. Negotiations to include a considerable proportion of those yet remaining outside are in progress, and the probable result will be that almost the entire shipping interests of Britain will be organized in one enormous combination, with the object of checkmating the labor movement. Everywhere the capitalistic classes are organizing and uniting their forces for the struggle with organized labor. In the face of such combinations, old methods which secured a measure of success when employers were unorganized and each individual was left to fight his own battle, are rapidly becoming outgrown. The strike and the boycott manifestly lose much of their old-time efficiency when pitted against mammoth trusts and combinations of capital. Labor reformers must turn their attention to new and more effective methods unless they are prepared to see oppressed workmen making useless sacrifices and dashing their heads against a stone wall in the vain attempt to make headway by doggedly fighting on the old lines against an enemy who, grown wise by experience, has adopted an entirely different set of tactics. The only power which can successfully cope with organized capitalism is the workingman's ballot. The working classes both here and in England have it in their power to make the laws, if they will only show themselves as firmly united and determined, and as ready to make sacrifices in a political struggle for their rights as they are when called on to fight capitalism by trade-union methods. The only way to defeat the conspiracy of the moneyed interests to enslave labor is to overthrow the capitalistic system and invoke the power of the Government, as representing the whole people, to defend the

toiler against the exploitation of the privileged class. The educating process is going on as rapidly as the concentration of the forces of capitalism. The only way in which combined capitalism can be successfully fought, is to strike at the ballot-box for the overthrow of the unjust system which places the control of great national industries in the hands of a few men.

##### "GIVE THE STRIKE POLICY A REST."

*Labour World (Michael Davitt), London, Feb. 28.*—"Let us give the strike policy a rest" is a sentiment which finds expression in the thoughts of most, and in the words of many of the best and truest friends of the labor cause. We venture in all earnestness to give more audible voice to it in these columns. Our readers will not, we feel certain, misunderstand our motive in so doing. Anyhow, whether we please, or displease the *Labour World* constituency among the working classes in urging this course, is of no weight with us compared to the conviction that strikes are calculated, under present circumstances, to play the game of the capitalists more than to advance the interests of the workers. They have become too general. Scarcely a day goes by that we are not threatened with a strike at the London docks, and only that the leaders of the London dockers have acted with wise courage during the present week, London might again have been plunged into a mighty struggle which would have ended in a result far different to that of the historic fight over the too-much lauded victory of the "tanner."

These observations are not intended to apply to the Cardiff struggle. The aggressors in this instance are the Shipping Federation. The Federation saw a strike coming and they anticipated it by beginning hostilities under cover of the "federation ticket." These facts give to the action of the Seamen and Firemen's Union a justification which should obtain for their temperate and reasonable demands the sympathy and support of labor organizations. Moreover, the Seamen's Union has always been among the foremost subscribers and helpers in every struggle for the protection and advancement of labor rights, and this fact should not be forgotten now.

But on the subject of the strike policy we hold that it has become almost a blunted weapon in the contest with capital. It has been too frequently employed of late, and is in danger of becoming a boomerang, unless it is put on one side for a time. This course will be the wisest and best in the interests of the cause which strikes are meant to serve. Two years steady work of organization, and the building up of financial resources would do fifty times more towards securing ultimate victory over the enemies of labor than a continuation of the strike policy could possibly achieve now.

##### TENDING IN THE RIGHT DIRECTION.

*The New Nation, Boston, March 7.*—Our readers will have noticed a tendency in many parts of the country to get control of the street-car tracks in cities, in order to bring about a better service. This is a half step towards municipal ownership of street railways, and is good, so far as it goes. The example of foreign cities, as travelers know, is worth examining in this connection.

Ex-Senator Tilly Haynes, of the United States Hotel in Boston, went into this subject very thoroughly a few summers ago, during a European tour. He found that at Liverpool his carriage wheels moved over the tracks of the tramways without a jar. Upon inquiry, he learned that the Liverpool city government bought the rails and street equipment of the private companies, and then introduced a new method of track laying, which was so satisfactory that it has been adopted by the great cities of England. The municipality exacts a small monthly fee, per car, for the use of the tracks, and thus has complete control of the streets.

Mr. Haynes is far from being a Nationalist, but he is a Yankee and a hard-headed man of affairs; consequently, he is destined in time to

become one. In a circular, giving the merits of the city ownership of street railway tracks, he makes this frank confession:

At the present time, when the horse-car franchises and rights, obtained or assumed, almost overshadow our municipalities (some of our city governments becoming simply the prey of some unscrupulous monopoly of railroad consolidation who can pay the most money), it may be well to ask if the citizens have any rights left in the streets, and to inquire whether there is not a better method of serving the public, by both those who use the cars and those who are obliged to use the streets for teams and carriages. It is with this idea in mind, and the hope that this matter may be discussed until public opinion shall determine something better, that this circular is sent out.

##### SHOULD INCREASE THE ARMY.

*Army and Navy Journal, New York, Feb. 21.*—Major-General Schofield presents some very strong arguments in favor of an increase of the enlisted force of the Army, in a paper laid before the House by Gen. Cutcheon, Feb. 11. The paper was called for by Gen. Cutcheon with the view to showing the limit of our capacity to concentrate troops during the late Indian troubles. Gen. Schofield says:

"A careful estimate made at the present time leads to the conclusion that if the emergency had required it about 422 cavalry, 1,956 infantry and 1,251 artillery, mostly acting as infantry, might have been added to the forces under Gen. Miles's command; so that if the hostile Indians near Pine Ridge had been so numerous as to require such action, it would have been possible to concentrate there a force amounting in enlisted strength to 1,818 cavalry, 3,106 infantry and 1,251 artillery; total, 6,175." A table was also presented from the Adjutant-General showing the troops in each department, showing those available for duty, those on extra duty, those sick, and those present and absent from all causes.

##### A FARMERS' TRUST.

*New-Yorker Staats-Zeitung, March 9.*—The Farmers' Alliance of Kansas and Minnesota have in prospect a Farmer's Trust, which shall compel the millionaire trusts of the East to pay decent prices for farm products. The matter is extremely simple; the farmers of the West pledge themselves simply to sell their products only at such times and prices as may be determined by a direction committee to be appointed for that purpose. These are the same people who shriek and howl and make laws against trusts, combines and monopolies.

Trusts are criminal offenses, said Elder, the farmer-speaker at Kansas, only last week. But a Farmers' Trust—that is something altogether different—for the farmers.

##### TEMPERANCE.

##### LEADS TO CRIME AND MISERY.

*The Critic, Halifax, N.S., March 6.*—Count Leo Tolstol certainly has a faculty for seeing the worst side of our poor humanity. In an article on the Ethics of wine-drinking and tobacco-smoking in the *Contemporary Review* for February he says, "the real reason for the extensive use of these stimulants and narcotics is, that they stupefy and deaden the conscience, and conceal from one's self its records." He proceeds to prove this by citing some horrible examples where men have taken drink deliberately in order to nerve themselves to commit crime. It is true that excessive drinking and smoking does deaden the conscience, but to our mind evil deeds are ninety-nine to one the result of this over-indulgence, and not the over-indulgence the result of a desire to commit crime as Tolstol sees it. There are perhaps some debased men and women who resort to stimulants to deaden their consciences, but it is hard to believe that the evil is as extensive as Tolstol's article would indicate, and Tolstol almost convinces one against one's will, too, so powerfully are his facts and arguments put forth. In spite of this, however, we believe that three-quarters of the intoxicating



liquors drunk and the tobacco smoked is consumed by those who simply like it. It leads to a certain amount of crime it is true, and excessive drinking is the cause of more than half the misery in the world.

#### REMOVE THE DEADLY MIRROR.

*The Voice (Pro.), New York, March 12.*—It is proposed in the Nebraska Legislature to prohibit the use of mirrors, games, pictures, tables and chairs in saloons of that State. By all means. Everybody knows what a soul-contaminating thing a mirror is. A picture is equally a breeder of vice. And chairs and tables can be proved by statistics to have been the ruin of thousands. They are baneful things, and when the saloon has been purged of their baleful influence, let them be forbidden in the home and in all public buildings. Of course liquor is a rather harmful thing, but let us take the greater evils first. Arouse, ye patriots! Awake, ye citizens! Let us make one combined crusade against the blighting curse exerted upon society by mirrors, pictures, tables and chairs!

#### A DANGEROUS BILL.

*New York Evening Post, March 9.*—One of the most insidious features of the Hill Liquor-Dealers' Excise Bill is that which is concealed in an amendment to be found in Section 9. It provides that Boards of Excise in towns shall meet on the first Monday in May for the purpose of granting licenses, and stipulates that "they shall meet at no other time as a Board of Excise, except for acting upon applications for license made in good faith." Under the present law, Boards can meet after the time specified in May for other purposes than granting licenses, revocations for example, but by Section 9 of the Hill Bill this is the one thing that they cannot do. That is, a license granted by the Boards in May cannot be revoked for a year. In this way holders of licenses defying the law would be safe from molestation for a year, for nobody could take their licenses away from them during that time.

Another section of the Bill is ingeniously constructed to make it appear that Boards of Excise may arbitrarily refuse licenses, whereupon applicants must apply for a writ of certiorari to any court of record, and existing laws are so amended as to make it in effect compulsory upon the court to issue an order commanding that the licenses shall be granted. In this way, if "Billy" McGlory or some other person of like calibre should be denied a license "arbitrarily," that is, without a hearing, it would then be easy for him to secure his license; no one would be responsible for the granting of the license then.

#### RELIGIOUS.

##### JOHN WESLEY.

*Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper, March 14.*—The memorials on the 2d of March, by the Methodist bodies, of the hundredth anniversary of the death of their founder, John Wesley, recall the half-century of active religious life to which this famous member of the Church of England applied himself. For it must be borne in mind that Wesley did not at the beginning intend to establish a new church or denomination. He sought to work within the pale of the Church of England, to which he was closely allied, and only broke away from it under the influence of positive and aggressive opposition that left him no other choice except the foundation of a new denomination.

The growth of Methodism since Wesley's day has been well described, by a word altogether too commonly used, as "phenomenal." To his keen, analytical mind, to his marvelous power for work, and his accurate attention to details, the Methodist Church owes everything. Beyond all this, Wesley had the highest spirit-

ual gifts. He left the distinct and decided impress of his spirituality on his followers.

There is a vast difference, however, between the Methodism of to-day and that of fifty, or even twenty-five, years ago. The class-meetings, the old-fashioned "love-feasts," and the "amen corner" are almost gone and forgotten. There is a pretence of dividing the congregation into classes, but there is no such attention to the requirements of the Discipline as in former days.

Methodism is strong and flourishing, with a decided hold on the masses of the people and remarkable strength in the missionary fields.

##### AS A PREACHER.

*Christian Advocate, New York, March 12.*—Although Mr. Wesley was, in an important sense, a man of one work, yet his mind was many-sided, and he excelled in many things. He was a great author, a great organizer, a great reformer and a great preacher. Whether we consider the effectiveness of his discourses, the character of his sermons, or the manner of his delivery, he was a model preacher. Many great preachers are not safe models for young ministers to imitate; but whoever studies the preaching of John Wesley, with a view to imitate the simplicity and directness of his style, the spiritual, doctrinal, and practical character of his sermons, and the quiet earnestness and holy fervor of his manner, cannot fail to be greatly profited.

Mr. Wesley scrupulously proclaimed both the law and the Gospel, and diligently taught the preachers under his care to do the same thing. He was not a little annoyed by certain preachers who crept into the itinerancy and went about preaching the love of God exclusively. This they called "Gospel preaching," and denounced others who insisted on the constant practice of moral duties and the danger of living in sin as "legal preachers." To one who had fallen into this error Mr. Wesley wrote: "The law always prepares the way for the Gospel. I scarce ever spoke more earnestly here of the love of God in Christ than I did last night, but it was after I had been tearing the unawakened to pieces. Go thou and do likewise." Again and again he severely condemns the practice of haranguing on the sufferings of Christ or salvation by faith without inculcating holiness.

As for his own preaching, it must have been characterized by peculiar qualities which the records of his times have not preserved. No man in modern times, not even Mr. Spurgeon, has ever attracted such large assemblies to hear religious instruction, some of his congregations having been estimated at more than thirty thousand. His calm and natural action, his easy and graceful attitude, "his voice not loud, but clear, agreeable and masculine," and his chaste, perspicuous style do not explain the manifest effects of genuine eloquence which were produced by his preaching.

##### SOMEWHAT INCONGRUOUS.

*Catholic Mirror, Baltimore, March 7.*—John Wesley, the founder of Methodism, died just a hundred years ago. The centennial of his demise was the occasion of many glowing panegyrics. It is rather surprising that our Methodist friends, who cling like wax to their Bible, do not find anything incongruous about a celebration of this sort. The New Testament leaves no doubt about the foundation of the Christian Church by our divine Saviour. It would be blasphemy to assume that the Second Person of the Trinity lacked either the power or wisdom to frame an establishment after His own heart or one that could not endure, in spite of His specific and solemn promise to abide with it all days to the end of time. How, then, can our Methodist friends reconcile their acceptance of the Scriptures with a belief in an institution founded only a century ago without authority or sanction? This commemoration of Wesley should cause the more intelligent of his followers to investigate the inconsistent and illogical claims of Methodism.

#### CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM.

*Le Figaro, Paris, Feb. 7.*—A recent number of the French review called *Le XXe Siècle* contains a sermon preached in 1889, by Bishop Ireland, of Saint Paul, Minnesota. In that sermon the Bishop rallied the Catholic clergy on their tendency to abstain from assuming the direction of the Socialistic movements and to attach themselves to thrones rather than to peoples, and summed up his exhortation in the words *Dare and do*. It is difficult to foretell how French minds will be affected by such vehement and rather imprudent declamation; but, it seems probable that the French clergy will find themselves unable to stand aloof from agitations in which such men as Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Gibbons, and Bishop Ireland are taking part; and it cannot escape observation that preachers in general now avoid dogmatic teaching and address themselves to the feelings rather than the intellects of the people, and that the course lately adopted by Cardinal Lavigerie and some other archbishops coincides with the new direction which catholicism is taking.

#### NO MORE EPISCOPAL ARROGANCE.

*The Christian, London, Feb. 6.*—Archdeacon Farrar has a lofty ideal as to what manner of man a Bishop ought to be. Preaching on Monday, at the consecration of the Bishop of Worcester, he said:—

Thank God, the day when episcopal arrogance and episcopal ostentation were common things, is over, let us hope, forever. Deep humility and absolute self-sacrifice are the requisites of every Episcopate. They will carry with them the simplicity of heart which is detached from worldly ends, the initiative which can break up the deep slumber of inveterate prejudices, the undaunted courage and moral faithfulness which will flinch as little before journalists and leading articles and all the insolence of a false public opinion as before kings and mobs. We need Bishops who will not look down on their fellow-presbyters; who will care for the essential, and not for the infinitesimal; Bishops whom the rich and ruling when they do wrong shall fear, to whom the sorrowful shall look for sympathy, and the innocent for protection, who shall hold the gilded outside and the title and the palace, the wealth and the surrounding obsequiousness, as nothing better than dust in the midnight.

These are brave and noble words; and they were supplemented by some earnest counsels as to the duty of the National Church towards the masses.

#### MISCELLANEOUS.

##### THE NUDE IN ART.

##### PHILADELPHIA WOMEN PROTEST.

*Philadelphia, March 7.*—The directors of the Academy of Fine Arts have received a written protest, signed by fourteen women, representing, they claim, by actual count, 500 others, against pictures in the present exhibition here, several of which belong to the permanent exhibition of the Academy. These ladies say:

It is the general sentiment that never before in Philadelphia has modesty been so ruthlessly assailed. As Christian women, as modest women, we feel this to be an offense to our womanhood, an attack on the delicacy of our daughters and the morality of our sons. While in thus expressing ourselves we do not mean to impugn the motives of those who admitted these pictures, yet we are convinced that the claims of "art," often so loftily insisted on, should never take precedence of the higher claim of public propriety and morality, the interests of which would be greatly subserved by excluding from public view such pictures as Nos. 76 and 77, 118, 125, 126, 127 and 128, 188 and 191, 43, 44, 45 and 46, with the "Ariadne" of the permanent Exhibition.

To emphasize this protest we would add that one of the ladies indorsing it, whose relatives and friends have contributed a number of beautiful pictures to the exhibition, writes: "I am very glad to sign this paper. I only hope it may accomplish its object. I hate these pictures with a bitter hatred."

##### THE COMMITTEE'S ANSWER.

The answer which the Hanging Committee of the Academy sent to the signers of the protest was in part as follows:

But we must protest in turn against the violent extravagance of your expressions concerning the examples of the nude which it contains, and we would venture here to take issue with you as to what constitutes modesty in its best sense.



You assert that certain pictures admitted by us to this exhibition are flagrantly indelicate. You speak of them as ruthlessly assailing your modesty, and say that their presence has been a direct attack upon the delicacy of your daughters and the morality of your sons. Heaven forbid that the delicacy and morality of children should be so poorly established as to be in danger of overthrow by the contemplation of such pictures as you have selected for censure. These canvases bear the serious work of men devoted to and eminent in their profession—men who have done much to elevate and nothing to degrade it. Do you forget that many of them have wives and children of their own? Such men as these have never sought to advance themselves in their profession at the sacrifice of public propriety and morality.

There can never be any true advancement of art by such means, and we venture to believe that had the Bullitt Bill provided us with a Department of Public Morals any one of these artists whose works you denounce might, with perfect safety, be placed at its head. In finally disclaiming any intention to affect injuriously the morals of the community by placing these pictures on the Academy walls, we cannot refrain from expressing our sincere pity for that man or woman who finds in all the beauty and purity of the human form nothing but immodesty, indelicacy, and, alas, indecency.

#### THE PROTEST SUSTAINED.

*Philadelphia Inquirer, March 9.*—The protesting women who objected to the nude pictures at the recent exhibition at the Academy of the Fine Arts are in a measure right. Most of the nude pictures at the exhibition had better been kept out, and some of them are entirely displeasing. Just why the nude studies of Alexander Harrison should have been hung is inconceivable, except on the ground of authorship, certainly not a valid reason. There is too much hypocrisy about art in America. The artistic people—so-called—are apt to fall down and worship whatever any leading artist may paint, or is in line with the reigning fad.

The wholesale defenders of the exhibition have taken the ground that European ideas of the art are the best; that the Europeans admit the nude and consequently the local committee was justified in its selections. This reasoning is so fallacious on its face as to require no expert logician to show its error.

We are glad to notice that the Academy realizes the mistakes of the Hanging Committee, and as President Coates pointed out in a letter published in the *Inquirer* last week, they are not to be repeated. Mr. Coates has done great service to the city for his labors at this exhibition and his manly admission of the errors, for which he is not responsible, is in much better taste than the justification of the committee.

The only excuse for the nude in art is where desired attainments of beauty in thought and expression can be secured equally well in no other way. That end is seldom attained, but when it is, the result is always pleasing to art lovers except the uncompromising prude, and to this last class we are sure the good women of Philadelphia who have protested against the Academy pictures do not belong. As a matter of fact the pictures referred to have shocked the modesty of noble-minded, cultured and refined men and women, for it is a mistake to suppose that women are alone in this matter.

#### THE PAINTER OF TWO OF THE OBJECTIONABLE PICTURES.

*Will H. Low, in Philadelphia Press, March 8.*—Since 1876 there has grown up in the generation of painters born since that time some few who, without fear and without reproach, have chosen to paint the nude as the highest expression of the beauty which they seek to express. They are not many in number, but in the more intelligent and thinking observers of the progress of our national art they have found great encouragement. The school of painting of to-day in this and in every other country is, in fact, so given over to the representation of so-called character, to the reproduction of ugly forms, conveying, where they convey any sentiment whatever, a sense of physical deformity, and not unfrequently moral obliquity, that these few painters of the nude should be cherished as purifying the art atmosphere rather than be made responsible for an "attack on the delicacy of our daughters and the morality of our sons." Clothes have nothing to do with morality, I am certain that the most convinced of the signers of this circular will agree; and

art is never so pure as when, with chastened line and innocent abandonment of disguise, the nude is represented.

In every country and at every epoch of the history of art the nude has been recognized as the highest and most worthy task for the artist, and without this leaven of righteousness we can never hope here in America to have a school of painting worthy of the name. That, like every good thing, it is capable of abuse is true, but if I apprehend the meaning of the circular, it is directed against the painting and exhibition of the nude *per se* and not in the spirit of criticism as to the relative merits of the pictures in the representation of their high ideals. Had this been the case I would have been silent, but in the defense of the painter who struggles against the current of a pervading and abject realism towards the source of all that is most noble and pure in art I, as one deeply interested, beg leave to protest.

#### THE MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE, TOO.

*New York Times, March 8.*—Two outbreaks of outraged virtue in different parts of our country seem to call for the attention of the observer of current events. Several matrons of Philadelphia have entered an indignant and public protest against the "flagrant indelicacy" of several pictures now on exhibition at the Academy of Fine Arts in that city, the flagrant indelicacy consisting, so far as appears, in the introduction of nude figures. At the same time the Legislature of Minnesota has arisen and passed a law making it a misdemeanor for "any female person" to appear in a theatre in tights.

The question of the nude in art is one that is not likely to be settled by an uprising either of the British matrons or of the matrons of Philadelphia, for it is a question upon which the matrons of a few countries are arrayed against the artists of the world. In Montreal, it is alleged, that the antiques of the museum were exiled into dark closets by the indignation of the Canadian matrons. Not very long ago the matrons of Detroit rose up and demanded that the statues in the museum of that town should be decently draped. If the opinions of rural or provincial matrons upon such subjects were to prevail there would be an end of the finest collections of art in the world, and the master-piece of plastic art never would have been executed at all.

The Minnesota legislators seem to be in much the same case with the Philadelphia matrons. What is technically known as the "leg drama" is not a noble or improving form of art, but it is calculated to operate much more deleteriously upon the legislator from the back districts than upon the injured legislator who represents a town in which it is not a novelty. In fact, the moral perniciousness of this form of the drama is directly as the distance of the spectator from the centres of civilization. It is possible that the Philadelphia exhibition may contain some works that are really objectionable according to the principle we have stated, but the denunciations of the matrons is too sweeping to be effective. It would have been much more salutary if it proceeded, not from indiscriminating inexperience, but from that trained discrimination which led a New York artist to remark of the works of a brother-artist in this field that "they were revolting alike to the artist, the moralist, and the voluptuary."

#### THE THEATRICAL POSTER.

*New York Press, March 8.*—Whatever may be thought of the proposed action of the Minnesota Legislature in forbidding the appearance on the stage of women in tights, there will be only one opinion, and that of approval of the City Council in Mankota, in the same State, in its decision to prevent the posting of obscene lithographs on the billboards of that city. It has become apparent of late that similar repressive measures in the interest of the morals of the community ought immediately to be enforced in this city. Within the last week or two some of the theatrical billboards in our

most crowded thoroughfares have been covered with lithographs of the most indecent character.

It is perfectly plain that the purpose of these pictures is to attract to the shows which they advertise persons of low tastes. The injury, however, to the public at large, and especially to the youths and maidens whose thoughts may be tainted or poisoned by the repeated sight of these nearly nude women, is of far greater consequence than the possible effect on an audience of the show itself. To place these pictures where they will be seen by thousands of young people every day is to sow the seeds of impure thoughts in as many minds and to undermine the morals of the community.

#### DEFYING THE STATE LAW

*New York Press, Feb. 22.*—The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad Company, which has defied and fought both the State law and public sentiment and the demand for public safety, in the manner of heating its cars with stoves, has met with an accident in which victims of its vicious policy were literally burned up before the eyes of spectators helpless to rescue them.

The civil and criminal law of this State surely provides means by which the corporation can be touched so deeply in its pocket and in its management that it will obey the law, and equip its cars so that such accidents will hereafter be impossible. If it does not, the Legislature is in session, and should act at once. The power of the State authorities, of the local authorities, of public sentiment and of the press can certainly conquer this law-defying railroad.

*Philadelphia Press, Feb. 23.*—The New York, New Haven and Hartford Railroad, which is persistently violating the law, a violation which last Friday resulted in burning to death a part or all of the six victims to the tunnel collision, is, according to the *Springfield Republican*, "declaring dividends of 10 per cent., and distributing a new issue of stock, quoted in the open market at \$270, among those on the inside of the corporation for \$100 a share—a clear gift of \$170 on each and every share so issued." That a rich corporation like this should be allowed to place itself above the law, and burn helpless victims to death, and put the life of everyone of its passengers in jeopardy for the sake of a few dollars, is a disgrace to nineteenth-century civilization. There must be criminal neglect somewhere, when the authorities of three States, like New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut, fail to compel an observance of the law.

The Legislatures of most of the States are now in session. They can put their time to no better purpose than by framing laws abolishing the car stove and making violators amenable to severe penalties. Unless, however, there is co-operation among the different States in getting rid of this instrument of death in one of its most horrible forms, the commendable efforts of one railroad to comply with the law may be rendered nugatory by the criminal neglect of another road, as was seen on Friday morning in New York's fatal tunnel.

#### BEFORE THE GRAND JURY.

*New York Evening Post, March 9.*—Let it not be imagined that the New Haven officials are yet converted, or that they deserve sympathy for the reason that they, as reported, had given an order for equipping some cars for heating from the engine just two days before the accident. They had merely given permission to have a New York and New England train (between Boston and New York) fitted up by one of the steam-heating companies as an experiment. It remains to be seen what effect the action of the Grand Jury will have upon that company, but, meanwhile, it is well to know that the arguments advanced against the safety of engine heating are not sustained by the facts as known or by the experiments already made.



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- Literary Foremother (Our). Mrs. Charlotte Conrad. *Home-Maker*, March, 6 pp. Sketch of the life of Hannah Adams.
- Literature (A National), Have We? Walt Whitman. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 7 pp. A characteristic paper.
- Octavia, A Chapter of Roman History. Professor Arthur Lloyd, M.A. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 13 pp. Deals largely with the character and philosophy of Seneca.
- Poetry, Photographic Illustration of. William Howe Downes. *New England Mag.*, March, 12 pp. Illustrated.
- Shakespeare as a Dialect Artist. Appleton Morgan. *Cath. World*, March, 9 pp. Examples of various dialects from Shakespeare's plays.
- "Sidney," Mrs. Deland's. G. E. Meredith. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 6 pp. Praising Mrs. Deland's novel as important, both from the religious point of view and on the more general ground of interest in mankind.
- Stonyhurst Philosophical Series. The Very Rev. A. F. Hewitt. *Cath. World*, March, 10 pp. The work of the Jesuits of Stonyhurst in preparing a series of English manuals of philosophy.
- Wesley and His Literature. William Morley Punshon, D.D., LL.D. *Meth. Mag.*, Toronto, March, 11 pp. Wesley's contributions to the literature of his time.

## POLITICAL.

- Canada, The Struggle in. Erastus Wiman. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 10 pp. States that the one plank of the Liberal platform is Unrestricted Reciprocity, as against absolute protection and complete isolation.
- Census (A Useful)—How to secure it. J. M. Eddy. *Overland*, March, 5 pp. Recommends the public school teachers as efficient and economic census takers.
- Civil Service, Reformed. Charles A. Choate. *Belford's Mag.*, March, 6 pp. Suggests that as many people are ready to incur the outlay of large sums to secure office, it would promote economy, if all public offices were thrown open to the highest bidders.
- Education, The Campaign of. The Hon. Grover Cleveland. *Belford's Mag.*, March, 6 pp. Speech delivered at the Reform Club, New York, Dec. 23, 1890.
- Home Rule in Ireland Two Hundred and Fifty Years Ago. George McDermot. *Cath. World*, March, 6 pp. Short account of the government and constitution which the Irish Catholics set up in 1642.
- Home Rule, Why It is Undesirable. W. E. H. Lecky. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 22 pp.
- McKinley Bill (The), Did California Need It. John P. Irish, Morris M. Estee. *Overland*, March, 11 pp. The former opposes, the latter defends the measure.
- Sandwich Islands (the), Future of. Claus Spreckles. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 5 pp. The relations of Hawaii and the United States; how far these will be affected by the death of King Kalakaua.
- Silver Legislation, The Menace of. The Hon. Edward O. Leech, Director of the Mint. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 12 pp. A valuable paper on the "Silver Question."

## RELIGIOUS.

- Christ, Fouard's Life of. The Rev. A. J. Maas, S. J. *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, March, 9 pp. Review of "The Christ, the Son of God" by the Abbé C. Fouard.
- Christianity, Greek Transformation of. John W. Chadwick. *Unitarian Rev.*, March, 13 pp. A Review of Dr. Hatch's Hibbert Lectures of 1888.
- Christianity (True). Rev. Charles A. Allen. *Unitarian Rev.*, March, 12 pp. Not a collection of dogmas, but a spiritual enthusiasm.
- Church and Crown in England, Restoration of. The Rt. Rev. William Stevens Perry, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 12 pp. An Historical paper.
- Clergy (Native). The Rev. J. R. Slattery. *Cath. World*, March, 12 pp. Points out the benefits derived from the ordination of natives to the clergy, especially in mission fields.
- God, Freedom and Immortality, The Problem of. Sully Prudhomme. *Overland*, March, 7 pp. Argues for an inborn consciousness as a guide to life and conduct.
- Greek Catholics and Latin Priests. *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, 10 pp. Discusses various questions in reference to the attitude which the Latin clergy are to hold towards the orthodox Greeks in the United States.
- Hellenized Christianity. Prof. J. Macbride Sterrett, D.D. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 10 pp. Review of Dr. Hatch's "Influence of Greek Ideas upon the Christian Church," explaining the difference of both form and content between the Sermon on the Mount and the Nicene Creed.
- Methodism and the Eighteenth Century. *Meth. Mag.*, Toronto, March, 7 pp. The Influence of Methodism in the Eighteenth Century.
- Methodism, The American Church and. Charles R. Hale, D.D., LL.D. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 27 pp. An Historical paper bearing on the relations between the American Church and Methodism.
- Moral Theology and Civil Law. The Rev. Joseph Putzer, C. SS. R. *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, March, 8 pp. Shows the importance of the study of civil law as a branch of the Ecclesiastical disciplines.
- Newfoundland, Missionary Life in. Mrs. Mary M. Price. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 26 pp. Memoir of the Life and Episcopate of Edward Field, D.D., Bishop of Newfoundland, 1844-1875.

- Papal Tradition: III. Peter and Paul. Ernest de Bunsen. *Unitarian Rev.*, March, 15 pp. Arrays a mass of evidence for the existence of two contending sections in the Apostolic Church.
- Passion—Tide, The Poet of. The Rev. H. T. Henry. *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, March, 15 pp. Sketch of the life of Venantius Fortunatus, and a favorable estimate of his works.
- Regents, the Church University Board of, The Anniversary of. President E. N. Potter, D.D., LL.D., D.C.L. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 43 pp. An account of the meeting.
- Science, The Witness of, to Religion. The Rev. William Barry, D.D. *Cath. World*, March, 11 pp. Argues that religion can be proved inductively.
- Scriptures of Saint Paul. G. Emlen Hare, D.D. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 6 pp. Maintaining that although there are discrepancies hard to reconcile in the writings of Saint Paul, they are still worthy to be read, marked, learned and inwardly digested.
- Theological Minimizing and Its Latest Defender. The Rt. Rev. Mgr. J. Schroeder, D.D. *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, March, 18 pp. Critique of the "Criteria" of Canon di Bartolo.
- Wesley and Methodism. The Rev. J. O. A. Clark, D.D., LL.D. *Meth. Mag.*, Toronto, March, 11 pp. Shows what Methodism owes to Wesley.

## SCIENCE.

- Andromedæ. S. W. Burnham. *Sideral Mess.*, March, 1 p.
- Animal House Builders. Frederick W. True. *Home-Maker*, March, 5 pp. Illustrated. A bit of natural history concerning the habits of the Prairie Dog.
- Astronomy in 1890. *Sideral Mess.*, 3 pp. Special Studies and Discoveries.
- Calendar (A Perpetual). R. W. McFarland. *Sideral Mess.*, March, 3 pp. Shows how it can be constructed.
- Cerebro Spinal Concussion. John Ford Barbour, M.A., M.D. *Jour. of Nervous and Mental Disease*, March, 11 pp.
- Electricity in America, The Early History of. George Herbert Stockbridge. *New England Mag.*, March, 16 pp. Illustrated.
- Epileptiform Convulsions in Early Infancy, Two Cases of. Helen W. Bisell, M.D. *Jour. of Nervous and Mental Disease*, March, 5 pp.
- Equation Machine (A Personal). *Sideral Mess.*, March, 2½ pp.
- Hypnotism. William Seton. *Cath. World*, March, 12 pp. Points out the value of hypnotism, and concludes that it admits of a natural explanation.
- Meridian Observations (Good), How to Make. Truman Henry Safford. *Sideral Mess.*, March, 3 pp.
- Moral Criterion, (The). Alfred H. Peters. *Unitarian Rev.*, March, 12 pp. Lays down the fundamental principles of the "absolute" and the "relative," basing the former on revelation and the latter on sense of expediency.
- Myxodematoid Dystrophy (Paratrophy). Frederick P. Henry, M.D. *Jour. of Nervous and Mental Disease*, March, 9 pp.
- Position Angle, Personal Error in Observations of. F. P. Leavenworth. *Sideral Mess.*, March, 2 pp.
- Saturn, Phenomena Observed Upon. M. Trouvelot. *Sideral Mess.*, March, 7 pp.
- Specter of the Broken. J. M. Schaeberle. *Sideral Mess.*, March, 2 pp.
- What We Eat, The Chemistry of. Prof. Henry A. Mott, Ph.D., LL.D. *Menorah*, March, 11. Fish, 4 pp. Discusses Fish as an article of diet.

## SOCIOLOGICAL.

- American Social Spirit (The). Nicholas P. Gilman. *Unitarian Rev.*, March, 16 pp. Contends for the existence of a distinctively American Social Order.
- Ancient Hebrews (the), Suicide and Martyrdom among. Dr. G. A. Danziger. *Menorah*, March, 8 pp. Traces the different views of suicide held by Jews at different historical periods.
- Cash v. Credit. Charles B. Rouss. *Belford's Mag.*, March, 4 pp. Advocates the Cash System.
- Colored Race (Our Other), and Its Emancipation. Lieut. Fremont, U. S. A. *Belford's Mag.*, March. Recommends the Keeping of Peace with the Army that made it.
- Criminals, Detection of. W. E. S. Fales. *Drake's*, March, 6 pp. Illustrated. Shows the progress made in the Police systems for the detection of criminals.
- Indian Question (the), General Sherman on. *Drake's*, March, 2 pp. An unpublished letter written by General Sherman in 1867.
- Insanity, Self-Control in Curing. William A. Hammond, M.D., Surgeon-General U. S. A. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 8 pp. Deals with the development of will power in the insane.
- Iron Moulder's Union No. 164 of San Francisco. Irving M. Scott. *Overland*, March, 13 pp. Sketches of its organization, constitution and labors.
- Mathew (Fr.) Centenary, Lessons of. The Rev. J. Halpin. *Amer. Eccl. Rev.*, March, 8 pp. The real significance of the late celebration lies in the fact that it gave a new impulse to the work of Father Mathew.
- Mizraim and Russia. *Menorah*, March, 7 pp. Inveighs against Russian intolerance, but recognizes that the Jew sinks into Oriental fetish worship in contact with Russian influences.
- Rescue Work. The Rev. S. H. Hilliard, M.A. *Church Rev.*, Jan., 15 pp. Suggests plans of "rescue work" in relation to the temperance movement.
- Sin-Sharing. Samuel D. McConnell, D.D. *Church Rev.*, March, 5 pp. Review of a translation of Dörner's "System of Christian Ethics," and maintaining that in the case of Parnell, those who retain their political association with him, become partakers of his personal sin, and the same in like cases of social or other contact with notorious sinners.
- Slavery, Some Recollections of. By a former slaveholder. 1. "The Block." M. V. Moore. *New England Mag.*, March, 5 pp. Actual realities of the subject.
- Unemployed (The), Problem of. William M. Salter. *New England Mag.*, March, 5 pp. Argues that co-operative colonies are the only permanent hope for the unemployed.
- Women, Why They Marry. Mrs. M. E. W. Sherwood. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 7 pp. An answer to the paper by Mrs. Kate Gannett Wells in *N. A. Rev.* for Feb.

## UNCLASSIFIED.

- American Republics (the), A Home Study of. Kal Blanco. *Home-Maker*, March, 5 pp. Illustrated. About the Republics on the American Continent.
- Attic (an Old), In. John Stuart Barrows. *New England Mag.*, March, 7 pp. Illustrated. Description of articles in an old Puritan Attic.
- Beau Brummell, The Real. M. Haywood. *Belford's Mag.*, March, 6 pp. A plain, unvarnished story of a squandered life.
- Confederate States, The. James Redpath. *Belford's Mag.*, March, 7 pp. A Review of Jefferson Davis's Short History of the Confederate States.
- Etiquette and Precedence. Ramela McArthur Cole. *New England Mag.*, March, 4 pp. Incidents bearing on the subject.
- Gettysburg, Further Recollections of. Major Generals Sickles, Gregg, Newton, Butterfield. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 30 pp.

## Current Events.

Harvard College During the War of the Rebellion. Captain Nathan Appleton. *New England Mag.*, March, 20 pp. Illustrated. Harvard men in the war.

Hungary, Through. *Meth. Mag.*, Toronto, March, 8 pp. Illustrated. Description of Buda-Pesth.

Indian Corn as Our National Plant. Sarah Freeman Clarke. *New England Mag.*, March, 8 pp. Illustrated. The claims of Indian Corn as our national plant.

Residuum (the Unclassified), A Bit of. I. Quien. *Overland*, March, 8 pp. A Love Story.

Rear-Guard (the), A Word About. Lieutenant J. Rose Troup, of the Rear-Guard. *N. A. Rev.*, March, 13 pp. Adverse to Stanley.

San Francisco, The First Vigilance Committee in. One of Them. *Belford's*, March, 8 pp. A stirring and impressive narrative of the first execution of the first Vigilance Committee.

San Francisco, The Parks of. Charles S. Greene. *Overland*, March, 20 pp. Described, and illustrated by numerous artists.

Sheep in California. Charles Howard Shinn. *Home-Maker*, March, 6 pp. Illustrated. Description of sheep-raising in California.

Texas, Camp and Travel in. Dagmar Mariagen. *Overland*, March, 12 pp.

Vagabond Vignettes. The Rev. George J. Bond. B. A. *Meth. Mag.*, Toronto, March, 12 pp. Illustrated. Description of trip through Cyprus, Rhodes and Smyrna.

Washington McLean, Memories of. Donn Pitt. *Belford's*, March, 11 pp. Describes him as a man of immense influence who, by sharply declining office, gradually sunk into oblivion.

Wesley, Footprints of. *Meth. Mag.*, Toronto, March, 14 pp. Illustrated. Description of places memorable in the life and work of Wesley.

## Books of the Week.

## AMERICAN.

Adonais. Shelley. Edited with Introduction and Notes by William Michael Rossetti. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.

Anatomy for Artists. John Marshall. Illustrated by 200 drawings. Macmillan & Co. \$7.50.

Animal Life and Intelligence. Lloyd Morgan, F. G. S. Ginn & Co., Boston. Cloth, \$4.00.

Astronomy, Lessons in. Mason and Veazie. Ginn & Co., Boston. Cloth, \$1.30.

Brotherhood. Mary Cruger. D. Lothrop Co. Cloth, \$1.25.

Canada and Newfoundland, Geography of. The Rev. William Parr Griswell. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.

Criminal Law in Ancient Communities, the Growth of, Lectures on. Richard R. Cherry, LL. D. Macmillan & Co. \$1.25.

Dynamics of a System of Rigid Bodies, The Elementary Part of a Treatise on. Edward John Routh. \$3.75.

Etymology (English), Principles of. The Rev. Walter W. Skeat. Macmillan & Co. \$2.60.

Fidalgos of Casa Mourisca. Roxana L. Dabney. D. Lothrop Co. Cloth, \$1.50.

Gambler (The). Franc B. Wilkie. John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia. Paper, 50 cents.

Girls, Fenelon's Education of. Kate Lupton. Ginn & Co., Boston. Half Cloth, 55 cents.

Girls, Go Right On. Annie H. Ryder. D. Lothrop Co. Cloth, \$1.00.

Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language. With notes by Francis Turner Palgrave. Macmillan & Co. \$2.50.

Gospels (The) are True Histories. John Henry Barrows, D.D. D. Lothrop Co. Cloth, 75 cents.

Government, A Fragment on. Jeremy Bentham. Edited with an Introduction by F. C. Montague. Macmillan & Co. \$2.00.

Hygienic Physiology. D. T. Lincoln, M.D. Ginn & Co., Boston. Cloth, 90 cents.

Iron Crown (The). T. S. Denison. John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia. Paper, 50 cents.

Juggernaut: A Veiled Record. George Cary Eggleston and Dolores Marbourg. Fords, Howard & Hulbert. Cloth, \$1.25.

Literature, Studies in. John Morley. Macmillan & Co. \$1.50.

Man Behind (The). T. S. Denison. John E. Potter & Co., Philadelphia. Paper, 50 cents.

Mechanism and Personality. Francis A. Shoup, D.D. Ginn & Co., Boston. Cloth, \$1.30.

New Testament, Outlines of Textual Criticism Applied to. C. E. Hammond. Macmillan & Co. \$1.25.

Physical Laboratory Manual Note Book. A. P. Gage, Ph. D. Ginn & Co., Boston. Boards, 45 cents.

Political Economy, The Scope and Methods of. John Neville Keynes. Macmillan & Co. \$2.25.

Reading, Helps in Teaching. Martha S. Hussey. D. Lothrop Co. Cloth, 75 cents.

Roman Literature, History of. Teuppel. Revised and Enlarged by Ludwig Schwabe. Authorized translation from the fifth German Edition. Vol. I. The Republican Period. Macmillan & Co. \$5.00.

Salvation of the Gospel. The Rev. Robert T. Jeffrey. Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.

Savoranola. A Tragedy. Alfred Austin. Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.

Sermons Preached in St. Paul's Cathedral. Joseph Barber Lightfoot. Macmillan & Co. \$1.75.

Social Diseases and Worse Remedies. Letters to the Times on Mr. Booth's Scheme. T. H. Huxley. Macmillan & Co. Paper, 30 cents.

Soldiers' First Aid Handbook. Capt. W. D. Dietz, Ass't Surgeon, U. S. A. John Wiley & Sons. Morocco, \$1.25.

Sophocles. The Plays and Fragments with Critical Notes, Commentary and Translation in English Prose. R. C. Jebb. Macmillan & Co. \$3.50.

Statistics (Analytical), A Treatise on. Edward John Routh. Macmillan & Co. \$3.50.

Trial by Combat. George Neilson. Macmillan & Co. \$2.00.

Trigonometry, Elements of. Lieut. H. H. Ludlow and Col. E. W. Bass. John Wiley & Sons. Cloth, \$3.00.

University Hall. Opening Address. Mrs. Humphry Ward. Macmillan & Co. Paper, 30 cents.

## Thursday, March 5.

Governor Hill, of New York, refuses another requisition of Governor Bulkeley, of Connecticut. The General Convention of the Seventh Day Adventists convenes in Battle Creek, Mich.; delegates are present from thirty States, and also from many European countries. New York City, the Coroner's Jury in the Tunnel Disaster, holds the officers and directors of the New York, New Haven & Hartford Railroad solely responsible.

The Argentine Government issues a decree suspending business on the Bourse, in the Custom House and in the banks at Buenos Ayres for two days. The London papers advocate retaliation against the United States Copyright Bill, claiming that it was passed in the interest of American industry. The elections in Canada result in small Conservative majority. The National Congress of Salvador ratifies the election for four years of General Carlos Ezeta as President. The returns of the Austrian elections show that in the urban districts of Bohemia twelve German Liberals, eleven Young Czechs and three German Nationalists are elected to the Lower House of the Austrian Reichsrath. The Roumanian Cabinet is reformed. M. Steen forms a ministry for Norway. M. Nooline, in the French Chamber of Deputies, presents the report of the Tariff Committee, which affirms the necessity of protecting the agricultural industries and manufactures of France.

## Friday, March 6.

The cruisers *Philadelphia* and *San Francisco* are formally accepted by the Secretary of the Navy. In New York City, at the Federal Club dinner, speeches are made by Thomas B. Reed, Henry Cabot Lodge, Theodore Roosevelt, Chauncey M. Depew and others. Coroner Levy issues warrants for the directors and officers of the New York & New Haven Railroad; Messrs. Depew, Clark and Park give bonds in \$25,000 each.

In the German Reichstag, during the debate on the motion for the second reading of the Navy Budget, Dr. Windthorst said: "Let the Government submit, not fine words, but a practical scheme for strengthening the Navy. The Government's proposals have created terror throughout Germany." Leonard Jerome, of New York, is buried in Kensal Green Cemetery, London. Vigorous measures are instituted in Paris to stop betting; at a meeting of the Municipal Council Prefect Loze said that the Paris mutuals would be suppressed.

## Saturday, March 7.

The President appoints James H. Beatty of Idaho, United States District Judge for that State. New York City, J. Edward Simmons, Esq., is appointed receiver of the American Loan and Trust Company.

The Newfoundland House of Assembly passes resolutions sustaining the former resolutions and the address in reply to the Governor's speech relating to reciprocity with the United States. The first number of *The National Press*, the new McCarthyite paper, is issued in Dublin. General Grenfell, commander of the Egyptian Army, reads to an assembly of Sheikhes from all parts of the Soudan, the Khedive's proclamation of general amnesty. In Paris the publishing houses welcome the United States Copyright Bill with praise and feelings of satisfaction. Yellow fever is increasing in Brazil. The Chilian Insurgents gain an important victory over the Government troops near Pozo Almonte.

## Sunday, March 8.

Cardinal Gibbons, in the Cathedral at Baltimore, preaches a sermon on religious and civil liberty. The Delaware, Lackawanna & Western Railroad Company directs that trainmen employed on the road shall not sign petitions for licenses of saloons. In New York City circulars are distributed to the congregations of the Catholic churches protesting against the passage of the Stadler Bill.

James O'Kelly, John Redmond, John O'Conner and Henry Harrison, members of Parliament, sail from Queenstown for New York; they go to America to raise money as representatives of Parnell. The panic in financial circles in Buenos Ayres is over; the Government decides to issue a loan of 100,000 piastres at 6 per cent. interest.

## Monday, March 9.

Franklin MacVeagh of Chicago, declines the nomination for Mayor tendered him by the Citizens' Committee. Bishop Benjamin Henry Paddock of the Episcopal Diocese of Massachusetts, dies in Boston, aged 63 years. The elections at Bangor, Belfast and Lewiston, Maine, are carried by the Democrats. The Pennsylvania House of Representatives passes a resolution indorsing Speaker Reed.

The Liberals of the Forest of Dean adopt a resolution expressing confidence in Sir Charles Dilke. Sir Richard Cartwright, the Liberal leader of Canada, issues an address to his constituents in South Oxford, in which he expresses confidence that the success of his party cannot long be deferred. Prince Jerome Napoleon is dying at Rome. The *Moniteur de Rome*, in an article on the school question in the United States, says that it is the principal Catholic question in America. Professor Muylbridge, of the University of Pennsylvania, delivers a lecture at the Uranic Institute, Berlin, on "Animal Locomotion." Sir Charles Gavan Duffy, in a letter to the *Freeman's Journal* in reference to Priestly opposition to Parnell, declares: "Until this clerical interference is changed there is no more hope for the Irish cause than for a corpse on the dissecting table." The German Reichstag adopts Baron Manteuffel's motion to refer back to the committee the proposed addition to the German Navy.

## Tuesday, March 10.

Secretary Blaine receives Lord Salisbury's communication relating to the Bering Sea negotiations, offering a favorable basis upon which to settle the difficulty. The Rhode Island Republican State Convention nominates Ex-Governor Herbert W. Ladd for Governor. Roger Q. Mills of Texas, announces his candidacy for the office of Speaker of the House of Representatives of the Fifty-second Congress.

The National Federation Convention opens in Dublin, Justin McCarthy presiding; letters approving of the course of the McCarthyites were received from Archbishop Croke and most of the Bishops of Ireland. The blizzard in the south of England continues; the railroads of Kent and Sussex are blocked by snow. Advice from St. Petersburg state that the anti-Jewish penal laws are enforced with increased severity, and because of this 100,000 of the poorest Hebrews have professed Russian orthodoxy. The Hungarian Chamber of Magnates passes the Sunday Rest Bill, which defines Sunday as extending from the close of Saturday to 6 a.m. Monday. The Convention in Santiago, Chili, nominates Señor Vicuña for the Presidency. John F. Swift, United States Minister dies at Tokio.

## Wednesday, March 11.

General John M. Palmer is elected United States Senator from Illinois upon the 154th joint ballot. The New York Senate passes the Bill for the State care of the insane, appropriating \$450,000 for that purpose. New York City, James A. Simmons is found guilty of embezzlement of \$622,000 of the funds of the Sixth National Bank.

The Committee of the French Chamber of Deputies appointed to consider French representation at the Chicago World's Fair, meet and favorably consider the subject. The resignation of Dr. von Gossler, the Prussian Minister of Public Works, is accepted. The German Reichstag rejects the petition to admit women to the liberal professions. Dr. Windthorst, the leader of the Catholic party in the Reichstag, is critically ill. The Marquis di Rudini, the new Italian Premier, makes overtures to the Vatican for a friendly understanding; Cardinal Rampolo is opposed to any arrangement with the Italian Government short of a substantial concession of the temporal power of the Pope.



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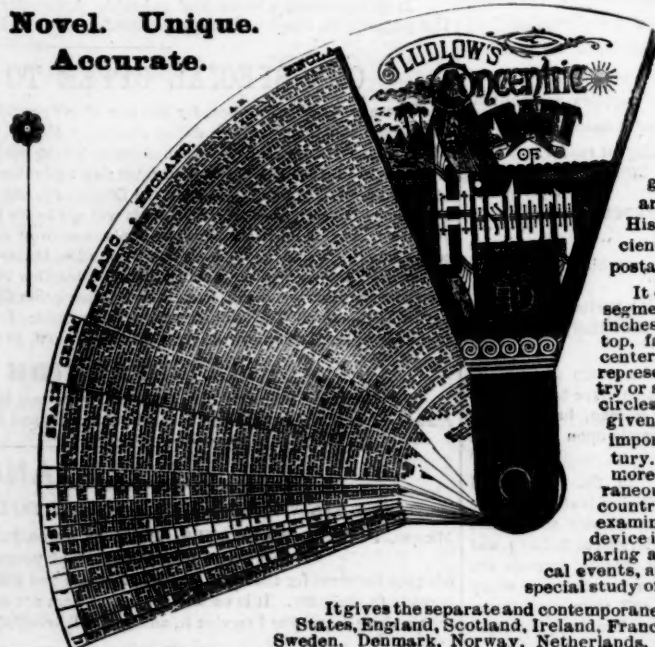
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